The Coastal Commission is Unconstitutional — *M. David Stirling*

CALIFORNIA ★ POLITICAL
REVIEW
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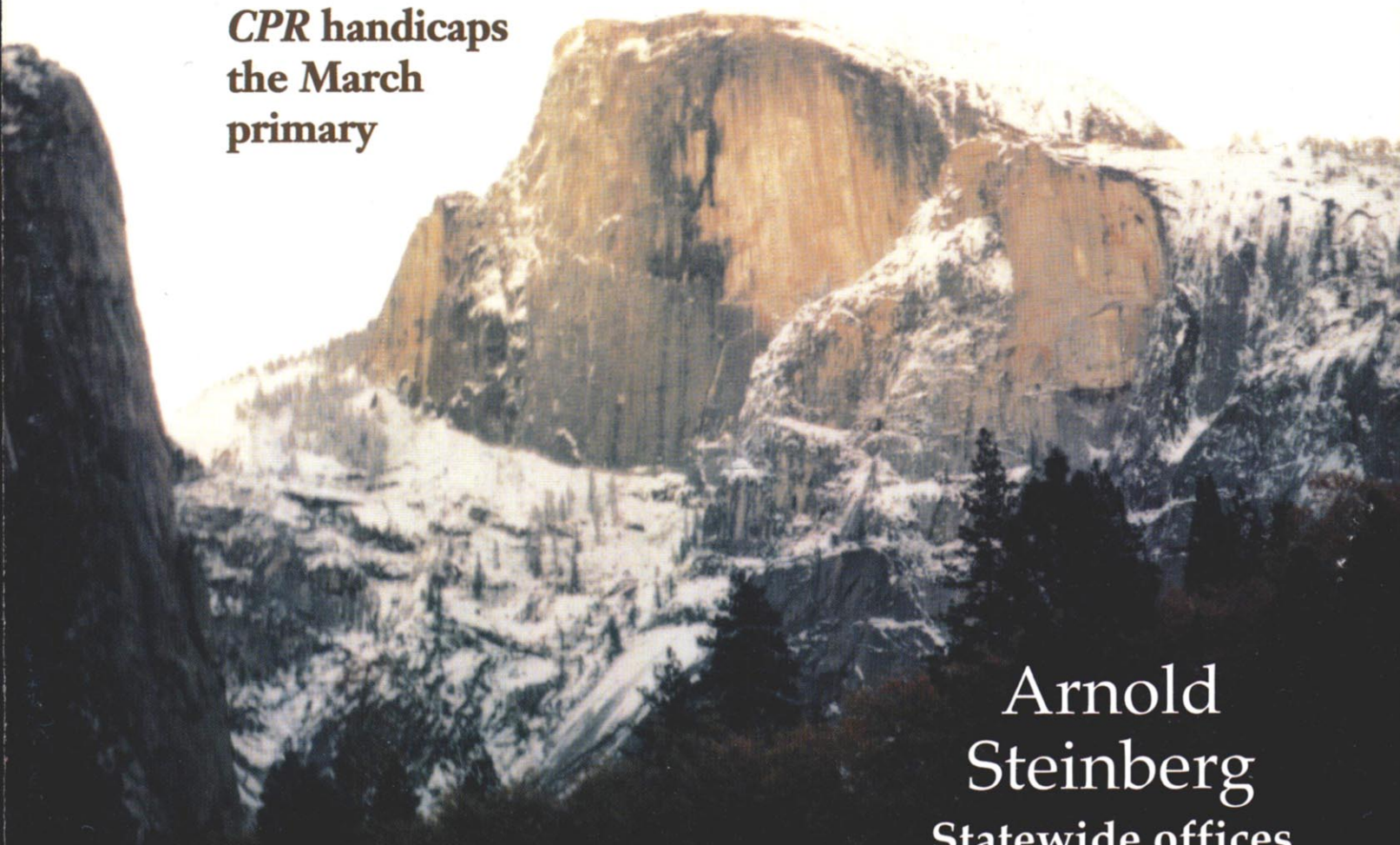
Mark S. Pulliam
Plumbs the implications of Animal 'Rights'

George Tennyson
Defends theology's ancien régime

Choosing a future

***CPR* handicaps the March primary**



Arnold Steinberg
Statewide offices report

William E. Saracino
Congressional, state Senate and Assembly races

District-by-District briefings

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Now You Know Why They Call It "The Toughest Beat in the State"

One riot is enough for the untrained

Watching what happens during a full-fledged prison riot gives one a different perspective on the job of a correctional officer

For *Daily Triplicate* reporters Todd Wels and Scott Graves, it was a once-in-a-lifetime experience.

At least, that's what they hope.

While touring Pelican Bay State Prison with other press folks Tuesday, a riot broke out around them. Inmate-on-inmate violence is certainly not unusual in the facility – consider why these gentlemen are in prison in the first place – but the scale of Tuesday's violence surprised even veteran prison officials. Graves and Wels, non-violent fellows both, were amazed by the sight of dozens of men beating on each other.

They were also impressed at the way correctional officers responded to the situation.

Correctional officers must walk a fine line in this type of crisis. They must try to protect inmates who may be down and injured. They must try to protect themselves and each other from inmates who may have possession of a hand-made weapon. They must use enough force to end the melee, but not too much force that it is deemed excessive.

That's a lot to think about while running full speed into a yard surrounded by inmates, many of whom are behind bars for violent, even deadly crimes.

With the help of a few warning rifle shots and the use of non-lethal weapons, order was quickly restored. One correctional officer took a blow to the face, breaking her cheekbone. Injured inmates were treated for a variety of wounds, none terribly serious.

The reputation of correctional officers over the past five years has been tarnished by the action of a few, at Pelican Bay and other California institutions.

Because of that, it's easy to forget that the vast majority of COs are not violent, blood-thirsty savages, despite the claims of some inmate-rights groups. They are ordinary men and women, trained for a job that is often described as long periods of boredom followed by short moments of pure terror.

Few people ever witness a situation such as the one that happened Tuesday. Some of the press tour members were visibly shaken by the experience. For those correctional officers who raced into the scene to protect the victims, the aggressors – and even the reporters – it was another day on the job.

The Daily Triplicate, September 2, 1999

"...surrounded by inmates, many of whom are behind bars for violent, even deadly crimes."

"One correctional officer took a blow to the face, breaking her cheekbone."

"...impressed at the way correctional officers responded to the situation."

"For those correctional officers who raced into the scene to protect the victims ...it was another day on the job."

On average, nine correctional officers are assaulted by inmates every day in California prisons.

California Correctional Peace Officers Association 755 Riverpoint Drive • West Sacramento, California 95605 • 916-372-6060

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The Face of God — Inquiry into the Bible's historical accuracy, even though still a relatively recent phenomenon, had largely fallen under the spell of unrelieved skepticism. But now, evidence grows that serious people may actually be approaching the question with open minds.

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CORRESPONDENCE

Political Oxymoron

You provided the most comprehensive political bio on Bill Jones I have read to date ("Political Oxymoron," by John Kurzweil, *CPR,* Jan./Feb.). *California Political Review* is a must read for those of us who want to know what is happening in California politics — minus the spin.

Russ Hopkins
Moorpark

Your discussion of California Republicans' "leadership vacuum," represented by Dick Riordan's ill-disguised Democrat campaign under the GOP label, shows that Democrat Party leaders know politics is about controlling the policy direction of the state and nation; Republican leaders see it as merely a question of jobs for us versus them. Chris Cox, Dana Rohrabacher, and the other conservative congressmen who endorsed Riordan presumably are looking forward to reading *Washington Post* headlines saying "GOP Re-takes California Governorship," and don't mind that a Riordan administration will make liberalism bi-partisan in what was their "home" state.

Conservative legislators who endorsed Riordan must be seeing themselves already moved on to Congress, safely away from the left-wing pillaging of the state that Riordan would carry forward. Finally, it seems the conservative Republican voters who say they will vote for Riordan take politics so lightly they are prepared to support a man without knowing anything more about him than his registration.

James Skowron
San Francisco

Joy 'Fats' Skilmer

You may think you're kidding ("Tax My Fat," by Joy Skilmer, né Lyn Nofziger, *CPR,* Jan./Feb.), but the Centers for Disease Control have become involved in land-use control through an edict that urban sprawl causes people to ride instead of walk, and this causes them to become fat and unhealthy. No, I'm not making this up.

Gideon Kanner
Santa Monica

Midnight Economist

Writing of "government people," Midnight Economist William Allen ("Adam Smith in a Time of Troubles," *CPR,* Jan./Feb.) says: "What they do, primarily, is *not* to contribute to the most effective use of resources according to the preferences of individuals, but to stipulate rules and procedures agreeable to the state." Thus Mr. Allen deflates in a few words of plain truth all the pretensions of socialism. Thank you for his always rewarding column.

Carol Denninger
San Diego

Alas — no more; see page 9.
— editor

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SACRAMENTO SPECTATOR

Bill Simon's bid to be the hope of the Right has received some raves. He's intelligent, telegenic, and has the legit business credentials. However, your *Spectator* is hearing increasing grumbles that if Simon is truly serious about capturing the GOP nomination for governor then he would have been attacking frontrunner Richard Riordan early and often.

Simon cites Ronald Reagan's Eleventh Commandment: Thou shalt not speak ill of another Republican — as his reason not to launch any serious salvos on his friend Riordan. The Gipper never intended the Eleventh Commandment to supplant a common-sense election strategy. If Riordan's going to lose he must be attacked.

Simon seems content to let Secretary of State Bill Jones use Riordan as a speed bag. But Jones' assaults on Riordan, while often right on the mark, are relegated to the inside pages of newspapers since he lacks the funds to take Riordan apart on the air.

The "Simon Sideline Strategy" is leading many observers to conclude that Simon is not serious about winning the nomination but is merely advancing himself in preparation for a U.S. Senate run in 2004.

The more cynical minds inside the GOP, of which there are many, are beginning to wonder if Simon might be trying to ensure the former mayor of L.A. coasts to the nomination, since Simon and Jones are expected to divide conservative votes.

Of course all this speculation will stop *if* ... Simon's campaign begins aggressively informing Republicans on paid TV of Riordan's liberal record and positions, and, as a result, the front runner's lead evaporates. That would confirm the scenario Simon partisans have often sketched when pressed about their man's 5 percent support. They cite surveys showing that "push" questions bring a quick collapse of Riordan support among GOP primary voters.

But if Simon never takes the battle to Riordan in this way, and Riordan wins the primary with the combined Simon/Jones vote exceeding Riordan's tally, look for some angry allegations to be leveled at Simon.

At press time, Governor Gray Davis was reported to be in negotiations with Senate boss John Burton and union chiefs to put the final touches on a substantial workers compensation benefit increase. Davis had vetoed increases in each of his first three years in office, thus crowing that he was a pro-business Democrat.

California's business groups have kow-towed to Gray, filling his campaign coffers with generous contributions. They've even defended him in the press as a pro-business governor. Now, as a campaign approaches, Davis is capitulating to labor and leaving the business groups standing out in the street. Anyone feel sorry for them? Neither does your *Spectator.*

Finally, we offer this insight into the mind that lies beneath the coif of our governor. When he unveiled his smoke and mirrors budget proposal to the Capitol press corps in January, Davis was asked by the *Sacramento Bee's* Dan Walters if he considered his budget to be deficit spending (which is illegal under California law). Gray stared back at Walters with a death glare and replied, "How do you define deficit spending?"

Your *Spectator* assumes Sharon keeps the family checkbook.

— A. P. C.

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Looney Tunes

New Age thinkers take cartoonish anthropomorphism one step further; animals are like humans, only better.

MARK S. PULLIAM

After a five-day trial, on December 21, 2001, a San Jose jury deliberated only two hours before acquitting the Ringling Bros.'s animal trainer of a misdemeanor charge of elephant abuse, but Mark Oliver Gebel was not the only subject of the trial. Gebel, the 31-year-old son of legendary lion-tamer Gunther Gebel-Williams, was accused of inflicting a nickel-sized puncture wound on a four-ton performing elephant named Asia, which Gebel has trained for 12 years, while the Ringling Bros. circus was performing in San Jose in August. The Santa Clara County District Attorney's office unsuccessfully sought to put Gebel behind bars for using a "bull hook" (a commonly-used training device that resembles a fireplace poker) to prod a line of elephants during the circus's grand finale. The prosecution alleged that breaking an elephant's skin, even a pinprick, constitutes "punishment," thus violating California's "elephant abuse" statute. (California is the only state in the nation with such a law.)

Gebel denied that the 8,000 pound elephant had incurred any injury, and the jury agreed, without Gebel having to call a single witness. The baseless prosecution was prompted by "animal rights" extremists (including the local chapter of the Humane Society), who are on a crusade against Ringling Bros., the world's most famous circus, because they believe that it is cruel and inhumane to require exotic animals to perform in captivity. Thus, the immediate objective of the extremists is to put circuses out of business. The agenda doesn't end there; the ultimate target of this case was the subordinated status animals currently hold under our legal system, which essentially treats them as property rather than the holders of "rights" equivalent to those enjoyed by humans. The "animal rights movement" aims to change that.

In addition to opposing circuses and rodeos, the animal rights movement seeks to stop (through legal and illegal means) the use of animals in biomedical research; livestock farming; hunting, fishing, and trapping; the eating of meat and use of all animal-derived products, including milk, eggs, wool, fur, and leather; and even the breeding and keeping of animals as pets. Proponents of animal rights believe that all animals capable of pain and pleasure have a moral status equivalent to humans that entitles them to protection from suffering and exploitation. Accordingly, captivity of animals is the same as slavery, biomedical research on animals is the same as torture, killing animals is the same as genocide, and so forth.

With People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA) and similar extremist groups viewing themselves in the same light as the abolitionist movement, it is no wonder that they feel justified in vandalizing fur owners, breaking into biomedical labs to "liberate" animals, and harassing circus animal trainers. In fact, animal rights activists seek to confer upon animals *greater* rights than those enjoyed by certain humans, such as infants, the infirm, and the disabled. Lest the reader dismiss this statement as mere hyperbole, consider the philosophical inspiration of the movement, the notorious Peter Singer, tenured faculty member at Princeton University.

Singer, author of the influential *Animal Liberation* (1975), *Practical Ethics* (1979), and *Rethinking Life and Death* (1995), posits that — in contrast to the entire body of Judeo-Christian wisdom upon which

Mark S. Pulliam, California Political Review's *legal issues correspondent, is an attorney in private practice in San Diego.*

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THE FRONT LINE

Embarrassing Congressmen

The announcement by Richard Riordan, the sometime Republican, that he would "keep an open mind" on the issue of homosexual marriage has thoroughly embarrassed those conservative members of Congress and state legislators who have endorsed him for governor. It also has Riordan trying to assure those legislators, and others, that he is not as "liberal" as "the newspapers" make him out to be.

Why anyone was surprised by the announcement is a mystery. Riordan and his campaign aides made it clear from the start they believe Republicans should drop the social issues from their agenda — the issues, by the way, that bring many working people into the GOP or convince them to vote for Republican candidates.

Homosexual "marriage," guns, abortion, tax cuts, government spending cuts, education reform, privatization of government services, illegal immigration, voter fraud, environmental extremists, excessive government regulation of small business, and intrusions by government on families and individual liberty are all off limits because "these are the issues that divide Republicans." (Read: us rich folk aren't affected by them so don't talk about them).

The issues to talk about are: who gets hired by the administration? which consultants get Party contracts? how can big business benefit from big government? — listen long enough to these people talk and you begin to think they might actually believe that these are the issues important to the people of California. Listen a little longer and you begin to see ... that's right, because there *are no people of California, except rich*

Republicans. When you have listened long enough to believe *that,* you qualify as a once-conservative Republican member of Congress. So the Riordan railroad continues.

But there *are* other people, and the message to Republican foot soldiers is clear: unruly children are "divisive"; they should be seen and not heard ... just be sure to vote. As Dan Lungren's "issue-less" campaign proved, however, (and as numberless liberal Republican candidacies have also proven), the notion that the Republican rank-and-file will vote in the large numbers required to carry the state — whether or not they see any opportunity to repudiate the Democrats' big government, libertine ideology — has no foundation. Shrewd Democrats know Riordan cannot beat Davis; that's why Barbara Lee shares podiums with the former L.A. mayor and John Burton gives him bear hugs.

The question is whether either Jones or Simon can derail this Riordan railroad. As of this writing, that is a questionable proposition. Simon keeps promising to start his campaign, and actually had Rudy Giuliani, that conservative stalwart from New York, out to California to campaign for him. It is possible for Simon to win, if he actually ever starts a campaign that truly distinguishes him from Riordan (and Giuliani) in a substantive way.

Jones, on the other hand, still struggles for money and a personality. Could he win the election (in March and November)? Well, yes, if he changed 26 years of political habits he has developed while in office. Jones' secret hope is that Simon chews up Riordan, and that the voters, repulsed by Riordan *and* Simon, choose him. An outside shot, to say the least, but a strategy that worked rather successfully for Governor Gray Davis in his 1998 campaign.

All of this leaves the grass roots with a question: Can Riordan be beaten? Right now, that question is unanswered.

CPR

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Western Civilization is based — the relevant moral distinction when valuing life is not between humans (who are uniquely imbued with consciousness and a soul) and animals (who are not); rather, the critical distinction is between "persons" (creatures exhibiting sustained "self-awareness") and non-persons. Only "persons" enjoy a right to life. "Persons" include pigs, dogs, and most other mammals, but do not include human fetuses, infants, cognitively disabled adults, and the mentally retarded. Singer coined the term "speciesism" to describe unwarranted discrimination against some non-human "persons" on the basis of species. Singer, whose enthusiasm for euthanasia brings Nazi eugenics to mind, is one of the most highly regarded scholars in the field of "bioethics." Go figure.

HOW SIGNIFICANT is the influence of the animal rights movement, outside of a few fringe jurisdictions in California? Unfortunately, the movement has become an intellectual fad, and is developing a national following. The Rutgers University School of Law in New Jersey (the official state-supported law school in that state) has established an Animal Rights Law Project that promotes as its mission the recognition "that animals should be thought of as *persons* under the law." Hence, the Project seeks to prevent the violation of animals' "basic and intrinsic rights" by facilitating discussion on subjects such as "veganism" (the avoidance of animal-derived products), training law students "how novel approaches to the predicament of non-humans can help bring issues of animal protection into the courts," and providing legal materials to students informing them of their legal rights to object to dissection in the classroom. All of this is based on a Singer-esque view that "many animals possess the very same attributes and characteristics that lead us to the conclusion that humans possess inherent value." That only humans possess a soul is dismissed as a "theological notion."

Northwestern School of Law of Lewis & Clark College in Portland, Oregon, publishes a student-run

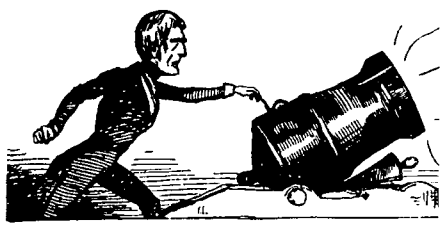
WHAT YOU HAVEN'T BEEN TOLD ABOUT GUN CONTROL

By SAM PAREDES

The new year brought a little gem from Pasadena Democrat Senator Jack Scott, a man determined to undermine the Second Amendment. Scott's A.B. 106, more commonly known as the "trigger lock law," requires the sale of a state-approved trigger lock with the transfer of every firearm in the state of California whether sold retail or privately. At first glance this might sound reasonable, but a closer inspection reveals something more.

One problem is that the law required Attorney General Bill Lockyer to produce a list of approved locks citizens could sell with their guns. Lockyer's list appeared in the year's closing days, giving dealers no time to acquire approved locks. Now it turns out many of the listed locks are simply unavailable. In its zeal to slap this law together, the Department of Justice apparently approved many locks that were in prototype form rather than actual production. The DOJ is just beginning to realize that locks may never be designed for many firearms.

The result of this mess was to make the transfer of most firearms in California illegal. Scott, Lockyer, and Governor Gray Davis succeeded, temporarily at least, in achieving the gun-haters wildest dream: bringing nearly all firearms sales in California to a grinding halt!



Just when it began to seem this fiasco might have been planned intentionally, we learned Lockyer and Scott have been scurrying around, writing "emergency" legislation to fix the "problem." It seems that by banning, in effect, all firearms sales, the AG eliminated his own department's Firearms Division's major funding source. Every firearm transfer — retail or private — generates a tax: the Dealer Record of the Sales fee, earmarked for the Firearms Division. Every day without transactions the DOJ loses money. The anti-gunners de-funded their gun police.

The Legislature's Second Amendment supporters should not be too quick to help undo this foolishness. Let's just watch them crawl out of this hole on their own.

Sam Paredes is executive director of Gun Owners of California.

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An Opening for Common Sense

"The beginning of political wisdom is the recognition that liberalism is at the end of its intellectual tether."
— Irving Kristol

What used to be called "liberalism" has degenerated into reflexive attacks on everything from the family car to free speech to the Boy Scouts — a movement without a mind and with nowhere to lead. Common sense is the cure — find it in the pages of *California Political Review*. Subscribe today!

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scholarly journal called *Animal Law.* Recent articles include "Dismantling the Barriers to Legal Rights for Nonhuman Animals" and "Animal Custody Disputes: A Growing Crack in the 'Legal Thinghood' of Nonhuman Animals." In addition to Rutgers, "Animal Rights Law" is taught at Hastings (University of California at San Francisco), UCLA, Georgetown, Duke, Michigan, Vermont, Harvard, and Yale law schools. "Animal Law" is increasingly being recognized as an area of legal specialty (such as criminal law, family law, tax law, etc.) in which lawyers practice. The San Diego County Bar Association has formed what it calls an "Animal Law Section" to promote the specialty. One consequence of attaining the status of a recognized "specialty" is institutional legitimacy; it is harder for critics to characterize a movement as a fringe position if it is being taught in leading law schools and written about in scholarly publications (although sometimes, as here, only "educated" people can believe something too foolish for anyone with common sense to accept). Another consequence is that courts and legislatures feel more justified in "making law" if the subject matter has been dignified with an establishment *imprimatur.* Just as courts revolutionized the fields of "tort law" and "product liability" (claims for personal injury and defective products, respectively) after the "academy" (*i.e.,* prominent law professors) decided the *status quo* rules (the result of centuries of Anglo-American legal tradition) were "archaic" and "unfair," one can expect activist judges to pave the way to a heightened status for "animal rights."

MIMICKING THE tactics of groups such as the ACLU, "animal rights" groups are already filing test cases to extend existing legal principles to animals. Activists are heralding a lawsuit recently filed in Washington County, Oregon, *Brock v. Rowe,* in which the owner of two dogs is suing to recover his "loss of consortium" (or, in plain English, loss of companionship) in a "wrongful death" suit against the person who killed them. Such claims are common when a parent or spouse has lost a child or husband/wife in an accident; the law allows the surviving family member to recover damages for the loss of the loved one's companionship. Under current law, animals are regarded as property, and the death of a pet animal cannot support a "loss of consortium" claim any more than the destruction of a treasured automobile could. In both cases, the owners of the pet and the car can sue for the lost value of the property, but not for the subjective loss of the special relationships they had with the pet or car.

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In *Brock v. Rowe,* activists are trying to change that, by urging the court to treat the death of pet dogs the same as the death of a spouse or child. A press release issued by a California-based group called "In Defense of Animals" (IDA) stated that "The Brock family [the dogs' owners] demands that Rookie and Jake [the dogs] be recognized under the law for their special value." IDA contends that pets "are living, breathing creatures tremendously similar to humans themselves on innumerable basic biological levels, and they are entitled to more deference than that which the law currently bestows upon them." Accordingly, IDA urges that "courts need to start viewing animals as individuals, and not just pieces of property subject to property claims." If *Brock v. Rowe* succeeds in changing the law, it will encourage similar litigation throughout the nation, further clogging the courts and further empowering trial lawyers and feckless juries.

The logical conclusion of this line of reasoning is that animals should be allowed to sue for loss of consortium when their owners are killed in an accident. After all, if pets are treated like individuals rather than property, because they are deemed to be the legal and moral equivalent of humans, why shouldn't they be allowed to recover damages in their own right? And why should such suits be limited to "wrongful death" actions? Animal rights pioneer Steven Wise, whose book, *Rattling the Cage,* has been described as "the animals' *Magna Carta,*" specifically contends that chimpanzees and bonobos should be granted "fundamental rights," such as the right to "bodily liberty" and the "right to bodily integrity." No more cages and research for monkeys. If a dog is forced to sleep outside in a drafty doghouse, in inclement conditions, why shouldn't that animal be allowed to recover for the emotional distress caused by its careless owner? Ditto the cat forced to eat dry cat food, or forced to use soiled kitty litter. Why isn't the confinement of pets itself actionable? The latest craze of Political Correctness is to call pets "companion animals" and their owners "guardians." Some governmental entities have adopted this nomenclature, which connotes that pets are not property "owned" by someone but participants in a quasi-familial relationship (a little like "domestic partnerships"). Pets could bring malpractice claims against veterinarians. Imagine class action lawsuits against zoos, veal breeders, mink farms, poultry producers, cattle feed lots, and beef processors. The final step would be the creation of an ACLU-style organization that would sue humans on behalf of animals. Perhaps existing groups such as PETA, IDA, or the Animal Legal Defense Fund could fill this role (or already plan to).

One hesitates to parody the animal rights movement, for fear that today's joke could become tomorrow's reality. The legal system is an awesome weapon to unleash in such a crackpot enterprise. George Orwell's classic satire of totalitarianism, *Animal Farm,* had animals acting like dictators. It may yet come to pass. Animal rights activists pursue a future in which animals resemble Looney Tunes characters Daffy Duck and Porky Pig less than Orwell's Comrade Napoleon. Recall that in *Animal Farm's* egalitarian utopia — chillingly similar to the one Peter Singer advocates — the single commandment became: "All animals are equal, but some animals are more equal than others." DFF.

THE MIDNIGHT ECONOMIST

Bunnie Rabbit, Winnie, and the Grand Plan

The Most Constricting Scarcities Are Those of Character and Personality

WILLIAM R. ALLEN

In what seems now almost a previous existence, my boss at The Heritage Foundation handed me one day a book curiously titled The Midnight Economist, *consisting of dozens of scripts for three-minute radio talks on economic topics. The year was 1982, the book's author was UCLA economics professor William R. Allen, and my job was to write a brief summary of the book for a Heritage publication called* Policy Digest. *I called Professor Allen, whose broadcasts were transmitted at the witching time of night — hence the "Midnight Economist"— and began to know one of the most entertaining men I have ever met.*

Bill began writing regularly for CPR *in 1993 and continued, with a few hiatuses now and then, through this year's Jan./Feb. issue. He is slowing down now, as time ac-*

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cumulates for him, and has given up most of his regular writing. So, for the second time in two issues, I, and CPR's *readers, must say good-bye to one of our longest-contributing correspondents. We here reprint his first 1993 column, one not altogether typical of his work, but, I would say, capturing his spirit, wit, wisdom, and personal warmth most completely and concisely — Bill always insisted upon brevity. And so, farewell.* — *editor*

WITH THEIR uncertainties and fears and aspirations, people do much fretting and flailing. It is a hard world, to be sure. The best things in life may be free, but the multitude of second-best things are costly. So we work and save and plan — and we compete, struggling with one another as well as with stingy nature. And in our scheming and striving and struggling, the veneer of civilization is worn very thin. The veneer is worn completely through at times and in places, exposing our greed and *gaucherie* and petty preoccupations.

A vastly more attractive and assuring aspect of being is provided by furry friends. I have been blessed with companionship of my rabbit, Bunnie, and my dog, Winnie. Bunnie had to leave me some while ago; and now Winnie, too, has gone.

Both Bunnie — she of the dainty face and long ears and velvet coat — and dear Winnie — pretty and cute and sweet and nice — like the lilies of the field, neither spun nor sowed. They directly contributed nothing to gross domestic product. They were consumers, not producers, absorbing a bit of the world's scarce resources and returning nothing — nothing but an example of poise and patience and grace and affection.

The poet assures us that they also serve who only stand and wait. Presumably, we shall never fully comprehend the Grand Plan of the Universe. But much of what we can suspect and infer is to be gained — if we are willing to learn — from the humble likes of Bunnie and Winnie. While people meanly scheme and worriedly strive and struggle, the Bunnies and the Winnies seem instinctively to have found their role and purpose. And they play their part with an innate dignity and beauty of nature which should humble us.

We can do ourselves in, individually and collectively, in many ways, and the human race has worked assiduously to discover and utilize them all. Occasionally, a Shakespeare, a Rembrandt, or a Beethoven reminds us of our angelic heritage. We have laboriously accumulated some successes of medicine and mechanics. And a few of the world's peoples have grudgingly permitted some experimentation in social arrangements of freedom and individualism, easing the pains and constrictions of our plight. But it is not surprising that progress in reclaiming our heritage is, at best, slow and unsure, for it is perversely protested and opposed by most. Unlike the Bunnies and Winnies — the supposed lesser of God's creatures — people persist in rejecting their role and subverting their purpose.

Certainly it is a world of scarcity, but not confined to iron ore and arable land. The most constricting scarcities are those of character and personality. All our cleverness and wit, all our tools and technology, will leave us poor, indeed, a disgrace in the eyes of the Deity, as long as we lack the goodness and grace and gentility of Bunnie Rabbit and Winnie.

THOSE IN POWER OVER US

The Coastal Commission is Unconstitutional

We should have listened to James Madison and John Adams: failure to separate and balance governing power invites tyrannical abuse.

M. DAVID STIRLING

Last April, a Sacramento County Superior Court judge ruled that the California Coastal Commission is unconstitutionally structured, violating the state constitution's separation of powers provisions. Some Coastal Commission backers have dismissed the pivotal issue in the judge's ruling as no more than a smokescreen for "anti-

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environmentalists" seeking to "cripple" the Commission by any means possible. But this is no manufactured controversy. The arbitrary way the California Coastal Commission exercises its combination of legislative, executive, and judicial functions and powers serves as a poster-boy for the founding fathers' abiding concern that the concentration of power in one branch or agency of government is a recipe for abuse.

This issue is fundamental. Next to the balance of power between the national government and the states, no question challenged the delegates to the 1787 Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia more than the assignment of powers to, and the separation of powers between, the new government's executive, legislative, and judicial branches. Although unable to attend the convention due to service as minister to Great Britain, John Adams knew his infant nation could be stillborn without a strong plan for the structure of its government. His book, *A Defense of the Constitution of the Government of the United States,* published before the convention, urged a government structure never before utilized: three branches balanced by a system of checks on the exercise of their powers. James Madison, the Constitution's leading voice, assured the adoption of Adams' proposal by declaring it a fundamental principle of free government that the powers of the three branches be not only "separately," but "independently" exercised. Thus, the Convention's inspired product provided for enumerated, exclusive, but limited, powers and functions for each branch. All the states, including California, adopted this federal model.

But by 1972, when California voters passed the initiative creating the Coastal Commission (made permanent by the Legislature four years later), Adams' and Madison's concerns over abuse of government power had given way to more modern concerns. Fifty-five percent of the voters believed so strongly in the coastal protection initiative's promise to preserve the natural beauty of California's 1,100 miles of coastline that the measure's glaring constitutional deficiencies did not even register with them.

But those deficiencies are real. Unique among state government agencies, the Coastal Commission possesses the executive power to implement and enforce the coastal protection policy it establishes, including the granting or denying of coastal building or construction permits, and the issuance of cease and desist orders. However, while the Commission is regarded as an executive branch agency — and four of its 12 voting members are appointed to fixed terms by the governor — the other voting members are appointed four each by the Senate Rules Committee and the Assembly Speaker, and serve "at their pleasure." Indeed, in what a 1987 *Los Angeles Times* editorial called "one of the most blatant and arrogant displays of political power to emanate from Sacramento for some time," the Senate Rules Committee chairman replaced a long-serving Commission member with a new appointee less than one hour before an agenda item came to a vote to secure the outcome he wanted. In 1996, the Assembly Speaker replaced all four of the Speaker's appointees for purely partisan reasons.

Sacramento Judge Charles Kobayashi found the Commission's structure unconstitutional in a case involving French marine scientist and researcher Rodolphe Streichenberger. In 1986, Streichenberger and a small group of volunteers founded a nonprofit foundation known as the Marine Forests Society, based in Newport Beach. Streichenberger's extensive research had convinced him that shellfish perform vital functions in creating and accommodating the living organisms that compose the balance mechanism within the ocean's ecosystem. Where shellfish populations are diminished, the natural ecobalance of marine habitat is irreparably damaged, resulting in the disapparance of dependent plant- and

(Please turn to page 67)

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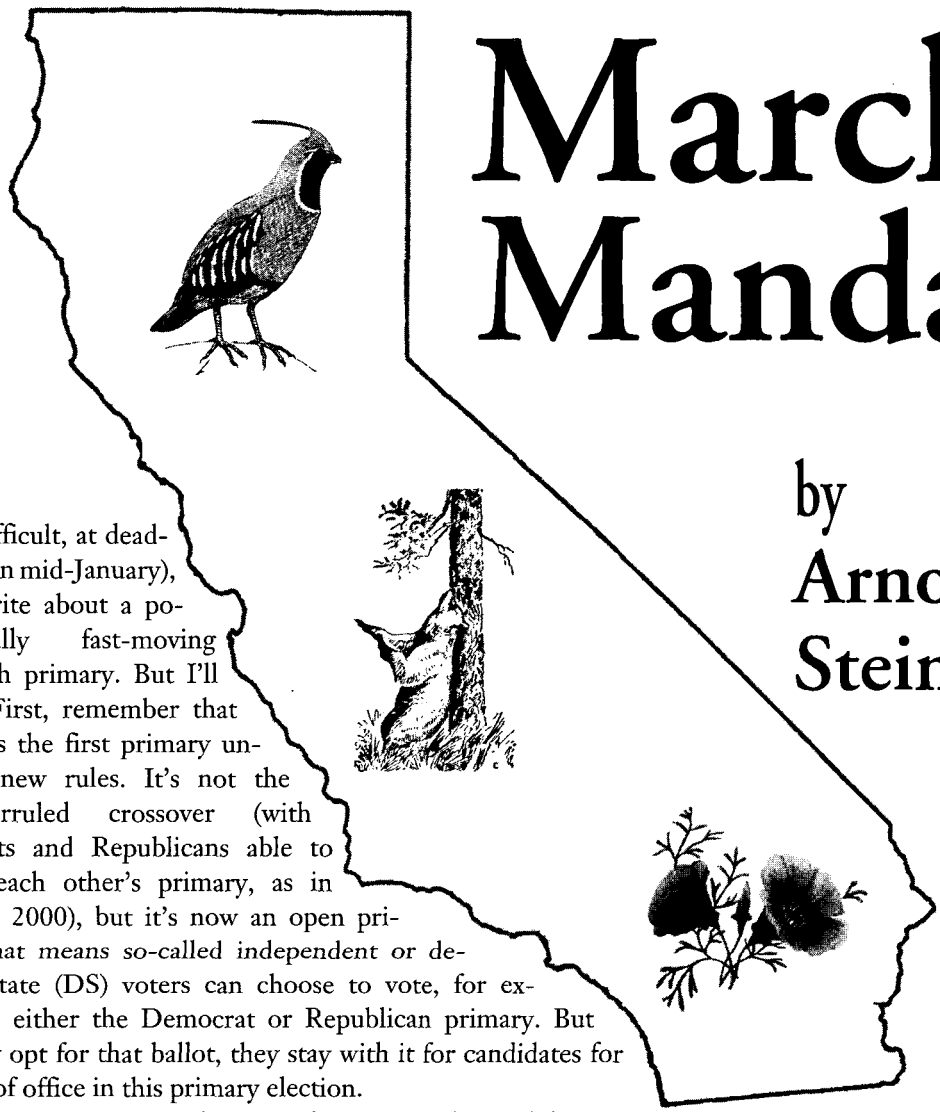

March Mandate

by Arnold Steinberg

It's difficult, at deadline (in mid-January), to write about a potentially fast-moving March primary. But I'll try. First, remember that this is the first primary under the new rules. It's not the court-overruled crossover (with Democrats and Republicans able to vote in each other's primary, as in 1998 and 2000), but it's now an open primary. That means so-called independent or decline-to-state (DS) voters can choose to vote, for example, in either the Democrat or Republican primary. But once they opt for that ballot, they stay with it for candidates for all levels of office in this primary election.

Second, for now through November, statewide candidates can raise unlimited sums, without limits on individual donors. The so-called campaign reform legislation that applies to legislative candidates this time does not affect statewide candidates until after November 2002. All of this means that in a close primary, DS voters can affect an outcome, and candidates are permitted to raise big bucks (if they can).

However, my guess is DS voters will disproportionately not vote in March. As for money, many major donors, at least on the Republican side, are waiting until after the primary, for most statewide offices. As for Democrat donors, they are more worldly than big-money Republicans, who have been told in Octobers past, on the basis of tracking polls, that Dole ('96), Lungren ('98) and Bush (2000) would win California in close elections. Just when you thought it was safe to pursue rational campaigns, the same tried, tested, and wrong Republican polling firms are back. Before this election ever started, the current Republican candidates for statewide office and their backers

Arnold Steinberg is a campaign strategist.

SPECIAL REPORT: Many voters, and perhaps a few candidates, may be surprised to learn the 2002 primary is nearly here. Campaign expert Arnold Steinberg here handicaps March's statewide elections. District-by-district Legislative and Congressional reports begin on page 23.

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The Peace Officers Research Association of California, representing more than 51,000 working men and women in law enforcement, welcomes the California Republican Party's Spring Convention.

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had spent nearly three-quarters of a million dollars on them.

In contrast, sophisticated Democrat fat-cats are not obsessed with poll numbers showing Davis vulnerable. They're counting on Republican incompetence. Dem heavyweights don't fear a newly "professionalized" Republican Party, because they believe their Dem statewide candidates will have more money than their Republican counterparts, and superior campaigns. In general, candidate recruitment was a casualty in this year's Republican Party infighting, with some candidates recruited just before filing deadline.

Governor

You'll be happy to know that the candidates for governor also include Reinhold Gulke, American Independent; Peter Miguel Camejo, Green; Gary David Copeland, Libertarian; and Iris Adam, Natural Law. The only candidate missing is one for the Reform Party, and that Party has a candidate for other statewide offices. These minor party candidacies become nontrivial in November because voters unhappy with, say, Gray Davis, may vote for an inconsequential candidate rather than Davis's opponent, thereby helping Davis. At the heart of the Riordan dilemma for Republicans is that enough Republicans in November may stay at home or vote for a lesser candidate, or turn out but skip the governor's office. Sherry Bebitch Jeffe says Republicans have a "visceral" aversion to Davis; in fact, Davis will have law enforcement endorsements and can lay claim to moderate positions, such as refusing to challenge voter-passed Proposition 209 (banning preferences/quotas).

The several Republican lesser candidates include a "performing songwriter" and a "homemaker." But the real battle is between Secretary of State Bill Jones, who lists himself on the ballot as "Businessman/Charity Director," and Bill Simon, against the overwhelming frontrunner, businessman Richard J. Riordan. At deadline for this article, it's difficult to envision Dick Riordan losing the primary. The outlook favors Riordan because he has strong statewide name identification, particularly in the Los Angeles media market, which includes more than 40 percent of the state's Republicans, including much of the Inland Empire. If general election polls continue to show Riordan besting Davis in a general election matchup, or running appreciably (if artificially) better than his Republican opponents against Davis, Riordan may benefit from a pragmatic vote. Moreover, Riordan is likely to spend more than both his major Republican opponents combined.

Let's talk about Bill Jones. Jones would have been the nominee by default. After all, when Insurance Commissioner Chuck Quackenbush resigned his office in disgrace, Jones was the only Republican left holding statewide office. Jones is a moderate-conservative. Early in his career, he clashed with the more daring and activist conservative leadership of Assembly Republicans in the '80s. But in most ways, he is a traditional Republican. His problems began when candidate George W. Bush lost to John McCain in New Hampshire. Jones defected to John McCain, and the Bush camp, which places an even greater premium on loyalty than most campaigns, seemed unforgiving. Thus, by April 2001, supporters of President Bush were easily seduced by the prospect of a Richard J. Riordan candidacy. Dick Riordan had run an impressive campaign in Los Angeles in 1993, emerging as mayor of the nation's second largest city. He was reelected comfortably in 1997. In addition, by 2001, Gray Davis already had $30 million, which was producing interest income greater than what Bill Jones was raising. Jones was never an effective fund-raiser, and his prospects had deteriorated since his estrangement from the Bush orbit. Wealthy donors were tautological: "I'm not giving to Jones because he can't raise any money." In contrast, Riordan has never been bashful about asking for money. He was (and is) well connected with the wealthiest donors. As a backstop, he is capable of self-funding and has the will to do it. Despite ill-advised pledges that he will not fund his campaign, he is likely, if the nominee, to spend as much as $25 million of his own money to com-

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pensate for unenthused Republican donors.

But the story is more complicated than that. Months before Riordan began flirting with his candidacy, he had quietly encouraged his friend and fellow philanthropist, Bill Simon, to run for governor. A few months later, he considered Arnold Schwarzenegger, who begged off and now plans a 2006 run, following a hoped-for Riordan first term. Both Riordan and Schwarzenegger, believing there is no conflict, share the same campaign advisers.

Without Riordan's encouragement, it is nearly certain Simon would not have run. The two men had been on very friendly terms before the race. Both claim the relationship is not strained, but Riordan and his emissaries tried to talk Simon out of the race. Ironically, Simon's presence helps Riordan against Jones, because it means Riordan needs only a plurality to win. Perhaps Riordan assumed Simon would mount a costly and intense television and radio war, commencing January 2. But Simon has seemed reluctant to commit sufficient resources, just as he has been averse to engaging Riordan. (All this leads to speculation that he is planning a U.S. Senate run two years hence, but he will find it difficult to take true-believer conservatives to the altar twice.)

Riordan emphasizes personal relationships, and he may not have realized that he and Simon are far apart politically. For Simon, ideas have consequences. For Riordan, ideas are ideology.

Both Riordan and Simon are philanthropists who share a concern for ameliorating poverty and improving education. But they could not be more different in their approaches toward public policy and government. The pragmatic Riordan emphasizes personal relationships, and he initially may not have realized that he and Simon are far apart politically. For Simon, ideas have consequences. For Riordan, ideas are ideology.

In many ways, Riordan had an admirable record as mayor of Los Angeles. His leadership in the hours following the 1994 earthquake, and through the recovery, was superb. It is likely that his predecessor, Tom Bradley, would have floundered, compounding the city's tragedy. For Republicans, supporting Riordan in 1993 against discredited leftist city councilman Mike Woo was easy. The 1997 reelection was even easier, a no-brainer, with Tom Hayden the opponent.

But the strategy cannot be extrapolated from a city electorate considerably more Democrat and less white than the rest of the state. Riordan ran in a nonpartisan race, meaning party is not on the ballot. Now, he runs in a partisan race where he pretends parties do not exist. Remarkably, he has been running to the left of Davis, and before the general election campaign even begins. Significantly, he has not established a convincing rationale, the *sine qua non* for electoral victory. Riordan, who has enjoyed great business success doing it "his way," openly defied conventional campaign wisdom and Politics 101 with a 2001 litany of actions and statements that can (and likely will) haunt him. He has the distinction of presiding over a curious, *ad hoc* campaign, punctuated gratuitously with flip-flops. Appearing self-destructive to some reporters who cover him, he seems ready to provide fresh ammunition to the driven Gray Davis and his equally relentless campaign manager, Garry South, the Inspector Javert of California politics. But Riordan somehow is not Jean Valjean.

So far, for Riordan, opponent Bill Jones lacks the funds, and opponent Bill Simon may lack the will, to exploit any Riordan errors. In contrast, Davis will have the money and the will to memorialize, quickly and efficiently, any Riordan missteps. So, for example, even if campaigning and debates do not matter, or matter sufficiently, for March, campaign and debates will be determinative for November.

The press, asleep and politically correct, as-

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sumes that Riordan's strengths are the media trinity — abortion, gays, and no guns. But the reasons Republicans win or lose are far more complex. We know that politically correct Republicans John Seymour (1992), Matt Fong (1998), and Tom Campbell (2000) lost for the U.S. Senate. We also know that many "pro-choice" voters who said they would never vote for a pro-life candidate voted enthusiastically for (pro-life) John McCain. Few elections offer a laboratory test to prove or refute simplistic "winning" models by pro-life or pro-abort protagonists, and this election surely is no exception.

Assuming Riordan is the nominee, as seems likely: It is personally sad for Riordan that Gray Davis, to win, must trash the Riordan record in Los Angeles. Surely, Davis, with his extant high negatives, will turn the general election into a referendum, not on Davis, but on Riordan, who squandered 2001 without ameliorating, mitigating, preempting, or inoculating against, his target-rich baggage. Remember, Garry South, Davis' political executioner, did Woo's 1993 anti-Riordan campaign. Strangely, Riordan, with all his resources, has now merely recycled the 1993 theme, logo, and rhetoric, as if he is in a time warp. His opening 60-second TV spot was plastic, although he is capable of being human. On the macro-level, by making leadership and management his central themes, the campaign invites inquiry into his leadership style. His campaign necessarily demonstrates either that he can, or cannot, govern.

Worse, Davis will, at least implicitly, exploit the age issue. The energetic and active Riordan will soon be 72. The age issue lurks in the background, because Davis will try, cleverly, to exaggerate any Riordan blunders to suggest that Riordan is incapable. All this means that voters unhappy with Davis could, with reservations, vote nonetheless to re-elect him if they accept the developing Davis theme that Riordan is not up to the job. Without an emotional connection with Riordan, without bonding, Republican voters have no intrinsic motivation to circle the wagons for him in November. We're talking viability.

Ironically, the under-funded Jones has the least downside risk for Republicans in November. He has a credible, reformist record as secretary of state, so he can convincingly argue that Davis has emphasized special interests over good government. But Jones has been criticized, tactically, for appearing to be a candidate for Republican Party chairman rather than governor. Belatedly, he has capitalized on free/earned media. He is accused of boredom, or, at least, of inspiring boredom. But George Deukmejian and Pete Wilson (and Gray Davis) were elected without excitement.

Both Jones and Simon have delineated thoughtful public policy positions, and Simon seems closer to the soul of the Republican Party. Plus, Simon has an erstwhile Clark Kent demeanor that could be morphed into Superman. Simon more clearly, Jones more quietly, are nearer than Riordan to the Republican center of gravity on the cultural and social issues. On the defining issue of Proposition 13, they are unequivocal, where Riordan has, especially in recent years, equivocated.

But all of this, the matter of philosophy and issues, is irrelevant if Republican voters remain unaware of what separates the candidates. Theories about conservative turnout miss the point. If Republican voters see Riordan as more viable than Jones or Simon because the Riordan campaign seems to be the only real campaign, they will rationalize their primary vote ... simply because.

Thus, against these two candidates who are running as if in a June primary that, of course, takes place in March, Riordan remains strongly favored to win. Riordan seems more of a human being, more authentic, than Jones or Simon (because these men have not projected) and than Davis, because he is, well, Gray. Yet, consider that Davis and Riordan are barely distinguishable on issues. So, Davis must seek to discredit Riordan as incompetent. Riordan's biggest supporter remains his dedicated wife, Nancy Daly Riordan. Alone among Riordan's eclectic (odd) campaign team, she, the Democrat, has the passion. In the trenches, she needs

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no rationale for his candidacy. But voters, if not now, then later, will want one.

The San Jose Debate

At deadline, Jones was competently exploiting his superior performance in the first debate. Meanwhile, the Riordan campaign was trying to recover from the candidate's debate hyperbole — saying that lobbyists were not allowed in his office as mayor — and from one of the candidate's numerous mistakes in the last eight months: Riordan meeting Enron's Ken Lay to compare notes on Gray Davis. Riordan had accepted an Enron contribution years earlier, which is less important than the fact his own campaign denied it. It's part of an endemic problem within the Riordan operation — failure to mitigate, inoculate, mitigate against, baggage. Ron Hartwig, Riordan's "chief executive officer," who is part of the crack "best and brightest" team that Riordan has assembled, was scrambling for damage control. All of this illustrates, regardless of what happens in March, that Richard Riordan and his campaign are hardly on track for November.

As for the admirably persistent and energized Jones, he seems eager to exploit the glaring weaknesses in the Riordan campaign, while Simon has retreated into the spectator role. Simon, as businessman, even with his limited advertising buy, might cut into Riordan's "businessman" vote. But if he and Jones split the conservative vote, between them they could hand the victory to Riordan. An ironic outcome, indeed.

Lieutenant Governor

Incumbent Cruz Bustamante, who has token opposition in the Democrat primary, is strongly favored to win in November. Bustamante is personable and energetic, and he is the highest-ranking Latino in state government. Moreover, he has capitalized on the opportunistic business coalitions he developed when he became Assembly Speaker in 1996. That was the year Democrats regained control of both legislative houses, in part due to clumsy leadership of the state Republicans, who emphasized a costly, futile Bob Dole campaign over legislative races. The casualties included the inspired (but short-lived) leadership of Republican Assembly Speaker Curt Pringle.

Bustamante will be opposed by Bruce McPherson, an affable state senator from Santa Cruz who has token opposition in the Republican primary from Ellie Michaels, who lists herself on the ballot as "singer/songwriter" — not a proven draw for this office. Thus, McPherson, if he does nothing, wins the primary on ballot designation alone. McPherson himself is a gentle and decent man. Recently, his son, Hunter McPherson, was shot and killed in a robbery attempt, an awful, sad event and probably the only major statewide press for this politician. Assembly Republicans had worked hard to re-elect him to the Assembly, despite his ideological proximity to Democrats, because they concluded (a) an environmentalist Republican was the only possibility in Santa Cruz, and (b) he would vote for a Republican Speaker. Right on both counts.

If Simon is the nominee, McPherson could be seen as moderating the ticket. If Riordan is the nominee, the nonconformist Republican McPherson could be seen as a redundant repudiation of the Republican base.

If Simon were the nominee, McPherson could be seen as moderating the statewide ticket. If Riordan is the nominee, the nonconformist Republican McPherson could be seen as a redundant repudiation of the Republican base and, thus, a further blow to Republican turnout. If Jones is the nominee, McPherson doesn't matter either way, because Jones will run on his own.

Secretary of State

Four years ago, the disastrous Dan Lungren campaign was the catalyst for Republican losses — congressional and state legislative seats. Miraculously, two Republicans remained at the state level, Insurance Commissioner Chuck

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Quackenbush (see below) and Secretary of State Bill Jones, now running for governor.

For this open seat, the Democrats have provided a curious line-up. Besides some lesser-known Democrats, there is March Fong Eu, the icon (her age remains in two digits) whose last public exposure flopped in a 1998 statewide television commercial endorsing her Republican son, Matt Fong, running for U.S. Senate against Barbara Boxer. Was he a mama's boy, and did anyone care who she was? But she's ... back. Her original claim to fame was her remarkably successful one-issue platform for secretary of state — outlawing pay toilets for women. They were grainy black and white TV spots. Which shows — message can triumph. Anyway, she will likely split the female vote with up-and-coming Michela Alioto from that famous Democrat family.

The one to watch is glib Assembly Majority Leader Kevin Shelley, also from a prominent Democrat family. His father, Jack Shelley was mayor of San Francisco. Shelley's biography reads like your typical Democrat 30-second spot. "He pioneered legislation to modernize California's archaic voting systems, reform California's nursing home facilities, prevent children from exposure to toxins in school environments, and to protect California consumers from unscrupulous used car dealers."

After that spot has run, here's the next one, verbatim, from the bio: "Kevin Shelley further advanced state sunshine laws by requiring easier access to public records for California citizens and journalists. He continued his fight for safer streets by authoring an 8 million dollar Pedestrian Safety Act. And he sponsored legislation to ensure that San Francisco Unified School District gets back to the business of properly educating children."

In case you're wondering, the personable Shelley has solid roots with the most liberal of Northern California Democrats. He apprenticed with Phil and Sala Burton before being elected to the San Francisco Board of Supervisors, serving twice as Board president.

On the Republican side, Republican Barbara Jean Marr has a nice ballot designation ("voter rights analyst") for this office, but it might play better in a Democrat primary. The same could be said for Republican Mike Schaefer ("public interest attorney"). That leaves the likely winner, Keith Olberg, an intelligent and thoughtful former state assemblyman who lists himself as "businessman," the preferred designation in this low visibility primary. Olberg is a conservative with a grasp of the issues, but the real question for November is whether he will run an underfunded Republican cookie cutter campaign against Shelly's heavily bankrolled, made-to-order Democrat operation.

Controller

Democrat State Board of Equalization Member Johan Klehs will likely defeat Steve Westly in the primary. In the general election, Klehs will campaign as someone who rose from humble beginnings to chair the Assembly Revenue and Taxation Committee. Like many Democrats who have supported tax hikes, he will campaign as a reformer who limited taxes. Which Republican will he face in November?

His fellow Board of Equalization member, Republican Dean Andal, is running in the GOP primary against state Senator Tom McClintock. There are a couple of other candidates, Nancy Beecham, registered nurse/businesswoman, and W. Snow Hume, business controller. But the real battle is between two impressive people — Andal and McClintock. Many Republicans have observed with regret that two qualified conservatives are running against each other. Both of these men have been friends of the taxpayers, and each holds promise as a controller who would make something of the office. Regardless of who wins, Republicans will have a qualified candidate for November.

Treasurer

Democrat Phil Angelides was a ruthless chairman of the state Democrat Party. Under his watch in 1992, the party savaged Bruce Hers-

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chensohn. He followed the fast track for success in his Party — a Harvard University graduate and a Coro Foundation fellow, before making big money in real estate. As a Republican, he would have been pilloried as a land developer. As a Democrat, he marketed himself as a leader in affordable housing. What a country!

Angelides follows in the tradition of Democrats Jess Unruh and Kathleen Brown Rice, who used the office to help enrich fellow Democrats in the investment banking field. The brokerage commissions on huge government bond sales are immense. Angelides himself has said the treasurer's office is the "intersection of public policy and financial capital." No wonder Angelides remains vulnerable to accusations that he is playing favorites to JP Morgan and Lehman Brothers. But Angelides, a hard-driving politician whose media skills were sharpened when he led his state Party in 1992, has media instincts for the jugular. Thus, he has moved beyond self-funding to aggressive fundraising, and he is capable of using the incumbency to generate a positive press spin.

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Republican Mary A. Toman has the excellent ballot designation of "investment manager/educator." She has distributed a biography that reads well. Her past is said to include stints as state deputy treasurer involved in managing $200 billion of state assets and deputy assistant secretary of Commerce under President George H.W. Bush in charge of U.S. exports for 120 industries. She reports a background in marketing for Proctor & Gamble and corporate finance for E.F. Hutton and describes herself as a successful "international investor and entrepreneur." Further, she graduated with honors in economics from Stanford and holds an MBA from Harvard Business School.

Persistent and aggressive, Toman currently chairs the Los Angeles County Republican Party. On paper, her credentials are impressive. But questions remain whether she will be viable and can engage Angelides. If Toman loses in the primary to Republican Greg Conlon, the Republican statewide ticket will still have one female candidate, for Superintendent of Public Instruction. As for Conlon, who has some strong support, his résumé (former Public Utilities Commissioner, Transportation Commissioner) looked better before Enron's bankruptcy: Conlon is a senior partner at Arthur Anderson. But no one may know that's where he works, until after he wins the primary.

In sum, the quite vulnerable Angelides may have the last laugh.

Attorney General

Bill Lockyer deserves credit where credit is due. One of his first acts as the new attorney general was a gutsy move to decide against prosecuting Republicans in Orange County on trumped up felony charges of political corruption. Back then, Orange County's Republican district attorney had started the prosecution as a way of trying to make a name for himself as a candidate for AG. The absurd charges later were bucked to the attorney general for action, and Lockyer, former Democrat leader of the state Senate, surprised some observers by doing the right thing.

But on other matters, Lockyer has proved more predictable. Long an ally of the trial lawyers, Lockyer has been insensitive to the impact on the economy of government regulation and litigation. Thus, at a time of recession, he remains open to an innovative campaign that shifts the focus from public safety, the traditional "re-elect me" campaign of an incumbent AG. But Lockyer, pragmatic and adaptable, should not be underestimated. He is an accomplished fund-

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raiser and is fully capable of running a moderate campaign.

Thus, Orange County attorney Dick Ackerman, the only Republican running for attorney general in the primary, will have his hands full in the general election. But Ackerman is a credible candidate with a grasp of the issues. This conservative state senator has earned high marks in the Legislature. He served three terms in the Assembly. Locally, he has championed opposition in Orange County to building a new airport at El Toro. Ackerman is unique — a Republican who graduated from UC Berkeley and, of all things, in math. Against Lockyer's reputation as a wheeler-dealer with baggage, Ackerman is a respected and substantial guy who has emphasized ethics and his family background. But, like any statewide candidate with substance, he may be helped, or hurt, by the top of the ticket.

Expectations currently are high to defeat Gray Davis, because he is perceived as vulnerable. But if Republicans are failing, especially badly, against Davis in the fall, then Ackerman, along with either of the likely candidates for treasurer, and McClintock or Andal should be given the Party's life raft.

Insurance Commissioner

In case it's unclear, let's recap. The last occupant of this office was Chuck Quackenbush, who resigned in disgrace. Republicans wisely cut their losses and quickly disengaged from the indefensible Quackenbush. Surprisingly, Democrats acquiesced to statesmanship, as he resigned, and they never launched a partisan attack on Republicans. Still, the insurance companies were burned, and they believe a Republican will not be elected here.

Many insurance executives are privately betting on Democrat Tom Calderon to win the primary and the general. He is the brother of former Assemblyman Charles Calderon, who enjoyed a wheeler-dealer reputation. Another Democrat running is John Garamendi, who was defeated by Kathleen Brown Rice in the 1994 Democrat primary for governor. Garamendi, who lost his post as deputy interior secretary in the Clinton Administration amid allegations against him involving allegedly misappropriating his mother-in-law's estate, can be a strong campaigner. But the strongest Democrat may be one-time Orange County Assemblyman Tom Umberg, listed himself on the ballot as prosecutor.

This office should be appointive, not elective. After all, candidates seek election on the basis of demagogic attacks against insurance companies. But it remains for some a political stepping-stone. Near filing deadline, California Republican leaders remained in disarray, so Gary Mendoza opted to run for attorney general, only to find that Dick Ackerman had staked a claim first. Then, lawyer Mendoza switched to insurance commissioner and listed himself as a businessman. But, Mendoza must split some votes with "small business owner" Wes Bannister, who was asked by Mendoza's supporters to withdraw. Bannister, who has previously run for insurance commissioner, remains in the race. The less credible Stefan "Watchdog" Stitch has the appealing ballot designation of "insurance auditor." Too bad for him that he changed his middle-name (listed on the ballot) to "Watchdog." Mendoza has a solid résumé: he served as Pete Wilson's corporations commissioner and one of Dick Riordan's deputy mayors. Well-connected, and putting all his eggs in the Riordan basket, he should have enough money to buy onto slates in this low-visibility primary. Accordingly, Mendoza, whose campaign is run by the Riordan team, could win the primary. But he should be careful what he has wished for.

Superintendent of Public Instruction

Assemblywoman Lynne Leach for the Republicans and state Senator Jack O'Connell for the Democrats are unopposed, so they will face each other in November. The office is supposedly nonpartisan, meaning that party does not appear on the ballot. However, it would be difficult for Leach to overcome a big Davis win in November. Moreover, with Davis so well funded, Democrats (and the California Teachers Association) will target O'Connell for special help. Like many Democrats running for office, O'Connell has a superior campaign team.

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Choosing a future

California Assembly

BY WILLIAM E. SARACINO
MEMBER, *CPR* EDITORIAL BOARD

Continuing *CPR's* California Primary SPECIAL REPORT, William E. Saracino sketches California's 153 Assembly, state Senate, and Congressional races leading up to March 5.

DISTRICT 1 *Reg: D 46%; R 30%; DS 15%*

Incumbent: Open Seat — Virginia Strom-Martin (D) termed out. Geography: North coast, from Mendocino County to the Oregon border.

What used to be competitive turf has given way to Democrat dominance, and as befits such territory, the Democrats have a tight three-way primary. Eureka-based teacher Patty Berg had $50,000 on hand as of January 24. Lake County Supervisor Ed Robey had $25,000 on hand and Cloverdale City Councilman Robert Jehn had $50,000 in his account. Each has a local base and could be competitive, but look for unions and/or current Democrat Assembly members to make a choice among these three and provide major financial resources. Late campaign finance reports will tell that tale.

Mendocino County Deputy District Attorney Timothy Stone and Willits pro-gun activist Clay Romero are Republican primary candidates. But the stronger campaign for the GOP appears to be first-term Lake County Supervisor Rob Brown. Normally, this is a solid Democrat part of the state, but a renewed split between environmentalists and timber industry union members could create an opening for Republicans. Additionally, a serious fall campaign by Green Party member Doug Thron could complicate matters for the Democrats. Ralph Nader took 11 percent here. **PROBABLE DEMOCRAT**

DISTRICT 2 *Reg: R 46%; D 37%; DS 12%*

Incumbent: Open Seat — Dick Dickerson (R) running for Senate. Geography: The Sacramento Valley from just north of Sacramento to the Oregon border.

An old-fashioned donnybrook in the GOP primary. The major contenders are Redding Councilmember Pat Kight, a liberal, facing Butte County farmer Doug LaMalfa and Chico website designer John Byrne, both conservatives. As of the January 24 filings, LaMalfa had $124,000 on hand, Kight had $57,000, and Byrne trailed with $25,000. Both Byrne and LaMalfa reportedly have personal financial resources to commit at a later stage.

LaMalfa has tied up most GOP-leaning slate cards, and has the endorsements of the Howard Jarvis Taxpayers Association, Senator Pete Knight, and Mike Reynolds, "father" of the "Three Strikes" initiative. Kight is endorsed by former area Assemblyman Stan Statham. If this were just LaMalfa vs. Kight or Byrne vs. Kight, Kight would surely lose, because the district's Republicans are

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among the state's most conservative. But Kight is from Redding, the district's largest population center, while both LaMalfa and Byrne are from Butte County. And a minor candidate, Dan Ryhal from Yolo County, is also conservative and will draw votes from LaMalfa and Byrne. A fifth GOP candidate, Yolo County farmer Charles Schaupp, is not actively campaigning.

The race is in flux, with Kight in position to win with a 35 percent or so plurality. This is how liberal Assemblywoman Charlene Zettel won her first primary from a conservative San Diego district. If either LaMalfa or Byrne become the consensus choice of the district's conservative majority, that candidate would be favored to win the primary. The March winner will have no trouble with Democrat Doug Kinyon in November. **SAFE REPUBLICAN**

DISTRICT 3 *Reg: R 43%; D 36%; DS 14%*

Incumbent: Open Seat — Sam Aanestad (R) running for Senate. Geography: The northeast quadrant of the state, including Butte, Lassen, Nevada, Placer, Plumas, Sierra, and Yuba counties.

Another liberal/conservative GOP battle. Butte County businessman Dan Ostrander enters stage-left, Chico Councilman Rick Keene stage-right. That would normally be a recipe for a Keene victory in this area, but Ostrander is personally wealthy and has indicated he is willing to spend up to $400,000 of his own money. January 24 reports showed Ostrander with $270,000 on hand to Keene's $105,000. Keene, more in tune with the district's GOP voters on issues than is Ostrander, has endorsements from local representatives Congressman John Doolittle and Senator Rico Oller and help from pro-gun and taxpayer groups. Ostrander cannot win a straight liberal/conservative showdown, so he is expected to disguise his liberal positions. To win, Keene must raise the resources to show voters both candidates' real positions. This will be a hot, heavy race to election day. Watch late finance reports and surveys. Neither Republican need fret about Democrat Stuart King.

SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 4 *Reg: R 45%; D 36%; DS 14%*

Incumbent: Tim Leslie (R) Geography: A slice of north Sacramento County, Alpine, El Dorado and Placer counties.

Former Assemblyman, former Senator, current Assemblyman Tim Leslie has represented most of these mountain-based precincts for 20 years and will again after November. Democrat Scott Warren won't come close to changing that. **SAFE REPUBLICAN**

DISTRICT 5 *Reg: R 43%; D 39%; DS 13%*

Incumbent: Dave Cox (R) Geography: Northern Sacramento County and a slice of southern Placer County.

In a district George Bush carried by 12 points and that elected conservative leader Barbara Alby three times to the Assembly, lower house GOP leader Dave Cox is snug as a bug in a rug. Democrat Eric Ullis won't dislodge him. **SAFE REPUBLICAN**

DISTRICT 6 *Reg: D 50%; R 28%; DS 16%*

Incumbent: Joe Nathan (D) Geography: Marin County, western portion of Sonoma County.

Break out the white wine and brie and hop in the hot tub. No need to consult your crystal to see Joe Nathan back in the Assembly come November. Republican Kenneth Hitt has no chance. **SAFE DEMOCRAT**

DISTRICT 7 *Reg: D 53%; R 29%; DS 13%*

Incumbent: Patricia Wiggins (D) Geography: Napa County, most of Sonoma County, the northwest portion of Solano County.

Even had Republicans fielded a candidate, Pat Wiggins would be certainly be back in Sacramento for her final term. **SAFE DEMOCRAT**

DISTRICT 8 *Reg: D 48%; R 31%; DS 16%*

Incumbent: Open Seat — Helen Thomson (D) termed out. Geography: Most of Solano and Yolo counties.

A Democrat primary slugfest: West Sacramento Councilman and California Community College Vice Chancellor Christopher Cabaldon faces state Senate staffer/former Vacaville School Board member Steve Hardy and Yolo County supervisor Lois Wolk. All have raised well over $100,000 for the race and any of them could win.

Cabaldon (January 24: $240,000) has been endorsed by Congressmen Bob Matsui and Mike Honda, Senators Deborah Ortiz and Mike Machado, and Assemblymembers Firebaugh, Liu, Migden, Nakano, and Steinberg. Hardy ($123,000), rumored to be beneficiary of a major "independent expenditure," is endorsed by Senators John Burton and Don Perata and

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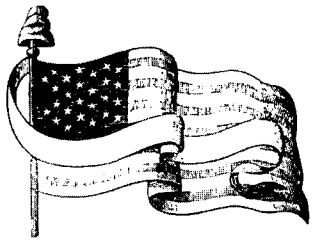
former Senator Al Alquist. Wolk ($165,000) is endorsed by incumbent Thomson, former area Congressman Vic Fazio and Public Schools chief Delaine Eastin.

Hardy is a contender — with the rumored independent expenditure, but it's hard to see how he wins without it. Wolk and Cabaldon will be in the hunt regardless, and must decide whether to fire exclusively on one another, or spend precious resources attacking Hardy. Most major Democrat players have a horse in this race, which is too close to call. Late contribution reports and survey data will give clues, but the winner could remain unknown until the wee hours of March 6. Republican John Munn might exploit left-over Democrat primary bitterness, but Party loyalty will prevail in November. **SAFE DEMOCRAT**



Most liberal of the contenders, Bagatelos is labor's candidate in this primary in what is seen as the possible start of a labor push to put a union sympathizer in the normally hostile GOP Assembly caucus.

DISTRICT 9 *Reg: D 58%; R 23%; DS 14%*

Incumbent: Darrell Steinberg (D) Geography: All but the north and eastern portions of Sacramento County.

This district came in at 29 percent for Bush. It won't deny Darrell Steinberg his last stint in the Assembly. Republican David Pegos probably won't break 30 percent. **SAFE DEMOCRAT**

DISTRICT 10 *Reg: R 44%; D 41%; DS 11%*

Incumbent: Open Seat — Anthony Pescetti (R) not running Geography: Amador County, southern El Dorado County, southeastern Sacramento County, and northern San Joaquin County.

Three major Republican candidates are involved in a mud-wrestling showdown for this likely GOP seat. The favorite is physician and Lodi Mayor Alan Nakanishi who ran a strong race in 2000 against Senator Mike Machado, losing by less than 1,000 votes. Largely on the basis of name I.D., a mid-January poll had him far in front at 41 percent to Dan Kramer's 8 and Jon Bagatelos' 5 percent. Nakanishi also reported $128,000 on hand January 24. His endorsements include "Three Strikes" champion Mike Reynolds, the National Tax Limitation Committee, Congressman Richard Pombo, Senators Ross Johnson and Jim Brulte and 16 other GOP legislators.

Next is Sacramento businessman Jon Bagatelos (1/24: $149,000 on hand), who has garnered endorsements from incumbent Pescetti, former Assemblyman Bob Naylor, and Sacramento County Sheriff Lou Blanas. Most liberal of the three main contenders, Bagatelos is also organized labor's candidate in this primary. The State Firefighters and several other firefighter unions have endorsed him in what is seen as the possible start of a major labor push to put a union sympathizer in the normally hostile GOP Assembly caucus. Union independent expenditures could boost him significantly.

In third but still contending is Elk Grove's Dan Kramer, California Petroleum Association chief executive officer. Kramer (1/24: $93,000 on hand), with wife Ann — a GOP fund raising operative, could add to that total. His support of Proposition 26 in 2000 (lower threshold to pass school bonds) hinders him. The measure's threat of property tax hikes made it heresy among conservatives, who constitute this district's GOP base vote.

Bagatelos and Kramer, of necessity, are shooting at Nakanishi. The well-financed front runner can choose to deflect their arrows when he wants to, while otherwise reminding voters of his conservative platform and near capture of the local Senate seat for the Party. Kramer and Bagatelos will have the bucks for full-blown campaigns, with a possible pro-Bagatelos union independent effort to boot. Nakanishi leads, but the race is by no means over. Fourth Republican Ken Payne has not mounted a major effort.

The Democrat favorite is former legislative aide and current State Farm Insurance employee Ken Cooley, whose "under the dome" connections enable him to finance his primary. If serious competition comes it will likely be from Sacramento Planning Commissioner Katherin Maestas, who has her own connections with legislative Democrats. Elk Grove candidates Kevin Campbell and Louis Kesthely, Jr., appear not to be waging major campaigns.

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Whatever the March results, this district will be one of November's most competitive. The GOP has the edge. Its base vote is loyal and there are a slew of conservative, ticket-switching Democrats who helped Bush win a 10-point victory here. But with few other fish to fry, Democrats will have this seat on their radar come November. The GOP should take nothing for granted.

PROBABLE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 11 *Reg: D 54%; R 27%; DS 11%*

Incumbent: Joe Canciamilla (D) Geography: Northern and central Contra Costa County.

Former Pittsburg (California) Councilman and Contra Costa Supervisor Joe Canciamilla has no worries in this district tailor-made for him. Republican Jan Denny won't come within hailing distance. **SAFE DEMOCRAT**

DISTRICT 12 *Reg: D 55%; R 16%; DS 25%*

Incumbent: Open Seat — Kevin Shelly (D) termed out Geography: South and west San Francisco, a slice of north San Mateo County.

$248,000 in the bank (1/24) and the support of Mayor Willie Brown, Senator John Burton, and incumbent Shelley make San Francisco Supervisor Leland Yee a shoe-in here. City Education Board member and pediatrician Dan Kelly's $24,000 on hand will provide little competition. Republican Howard Epstein won't pull much above GOP registration. **SAFE DEMOCRAT**

DISTRICT 13 *Reg: D 58%; R 12%; DS 23%*

Incumbent: Open Seat — Carole Migden (D) termed out Geography: Northern and eastern San Francisco.

Sometimes it's tough to tell the players even with a scorecard, as in this Democrat primary. Three liberal, Willie Brown-connected candidates are battling it out tooth and nail. Probably the best known — outside the district — is activist former supervisor Harry Britt, who was appointed to the board to replace the murdered Harvey Milk. Despite incumbent Migden and San Francisco Labor Council endorsements, he showed only $9,100 on hand January 24. Don't be surprised by a slew of "late contribution" filings here.

Former School Board member Steve Phillips (1/24: $194,000 on hand), the only black candidate, could develop enough momentum with that bankroll to be uncatchable. But with Supervisor Mark Leno in the race that is unlikely. Leno reported $96,000 January 24; he has endorsements from U.S. Senator Dianne Feinstein, Congresswoman Nancy Pelosi, Senator Jackie Speier, and Assemblyman Kevin Shelley.

For voters, the race — and the mail — in this district could get ugly. For political junkies, it could be great fun to watch Democrat titans battle it out. The latest prognosis has Phillips and Leno neck and neck, with Britt a distant third. Lesbian activist Holli Their has been unable to kick-start her campaign so far. Watch late contribution reports to see if Britt becomes a factor, or if Phillips can pull away from Leno. One of the election's mysteries is how two Republican candidates — Gail Neira and Joshua Kriel — managed to emerge in a district with 12 percent GOP registration.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 14 *Reg: D 59%; R 16%; DS 14%*

Incumbent: Open Seat — Dion Aroner (D) termed out Geography: Western portions of Alameda and Contra Costa counties, including Berkeley, Richmond, Oakland, and Lafayette.

A left vs. far left contest — not surprising in a district where Bush managed just 20 percent. Carrying the far left banner is former Berkeley Mayor Loni Hancock (1/24: $135,000 on hand), a long-time local Democrat activist married to former Assemblyman Tom Bates. Endorsed by Senator Barbara Boxer, Congressmen George Miller, Ellen Tauscher, and Nancy Pelosi, Senator John Vasconcellos, and Assemblymembers Dion Aroner and Carole Migden, she is the candidate of the Sheila Kuhl "elect real Democrats" portion of the Party.

Hancock is a slight favorite, but only slight next to black West Contra Costa School Board member Charles Ramsey (1/24: $120,000), an Oakland-based family law and housing attorney. Ramsey, also a veteran of local Democrat politics, is backed by Senator Don Parata, Contra Costa County Sheriff Warren Rupf, and police, firefighter, and other unions. Ramsey's seven-years-old arrest for soliciting a prostitute is well-known, and did not stop his reelection to the school board. That negative is balanced by the support of a broad "center-left" Democrat coalition. And his strength in Oakland should counter Hancock's Berkeley base. The election could hinge on labor's ability to deliver its members for Ramsey on election day. Watch for union-sponsored pro-Ramsey independent expenditures in late reports. To no one's surprise, no Republican filed here. **SAFE DEMOCRAT**

DISTRICT 15 *Reg: R 44%; D 38%; DS 12%*

Incumbent: Open Seat — Lynne Leach (R) termed out. Geography: Eastern portions of Alameda and

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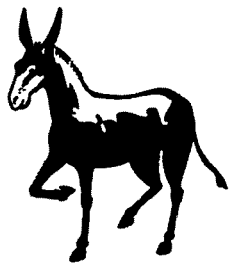
Contra Costa County, southern portion of San Joaquin County, a far western slice of Sacramento County.

This once rock-solid Republican turf is now the GOP's last island of legislative representation in the east bay. Redistricting reduced the GOP registration edge by a couple of points in this new district, but actually strengthened the Party's base vote, replacing moderate Contra Costa switch voters with more Party-line San Joaquin Republicans. Nonetheless, Republicans' hold here is tentative and the last thing the Party needed was an ideologically-based primary fight.



Houston's doublin' of Dublin's budget (pun intended) in just two years has delivered his GOP opponent the strong support of most anti-tax groups.

But that's what has come, between Gordon Blake (1/24: $40,000 on hand) to the right and Guy Houston (1/24: $190,000 on hand) to the left. Redistricting forced mortgage broker Houston, a long-time GOP activist, to resign as mayor of Dublin to move a short distance into the new 15th. He has been preparing to run for this seat for some years, and bolsters monetary strength with endorsements from Assembly GOP leader Dave Cox and Congressman Richard Pombo. The GOP establishment thinks Houston would be the stronger November candidate and badly want him to win. At this point he has to be considered the favorite, but his doublin' of Dublin's budget (pun intended) in just two years has delivered his GOP opponent the strong support of most anti-tax groups.

Gordon Blake is running a "throw-back" campaign, energizing a volunteer base and walking precincts. In 2000, he ran a strong but losing primary race to oppose Congresswoman Ellen Taucher. Widely outspent by a moderate-to-liberal, Houston-like opponent, Blake came within a whisker of victory. Had that primary been held in the current 15th, Blake would have won — the cities he lost are largely gone from the redrawn district, those he won remain. But the leadership endorsements, particularly Pombo's, complicates Blake's job of convincing voters that Houston is a liberal, which he must do to win. Having just $40,000 on hand in late January makes it more difficult.

But Blake nearly won under similar disadvantages two years ago. Now, besides a better district, he has residual name ID to help him. If he successfully paints Houston as left of center, the GOP primary voters may not care what the establishment wants. Expect a close margin for the GOP's March victor.

Waiting in the wings for that winner is Democrat County Supervisor Donna Gerber. The nature of the district ensures a competitive fall race.

LIKELY REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 16 *Reg: D 64%; R 12%; DS 17%*

Incumbent: Wilma Chan (D) Geography: Southern Alameda County.

A Bay Area district where Decline-To-State voters outnumber Republicans. This district elected the Green Party's Audi Bock in a special, but Wilma Chan need fear no such apostasy in a regular election. Republican George Nugent should set his sights on breaking into double digits in November.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 17 *Reg: D 53%; R 35%; DS 6%*

Incumbent: Barbara Matthews (D) Geography: Parts of Merced, San Joaquin, and Stanislaus counties.

Barbara Matthews came closer than any other Democrat incumbent to losing in 2000, so map-makers drastically redrew the 17th, piling in loads of loyal Democrats. Matthews is probably safe this year, but future growth here will likely continue Republican.

Republicans Moses Sanchez and Brian McCabe are trying to undo those map-makers' efforts. Panamanian-born U.S. Navy veteran Sanchez speaks fluent English, Spanish, and Chinese. He describes himself as a moderate, yet has been endorsed by conservative local Congressman Richard Pombo and some local conservative activists. With about half the district's population and a fourth of its voters Hispanic, Sanchez makes a strong case he is best situated to face Matthews. Of course, Merced-based trial lawyer and long-time GOP activist

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McCabe disagrees. Running as the more conservative candidate — normally be a big plus in this district — McCabe is said to "have access" to the bucks necessary to convey that message. He'd better. Combining a McCabe lack of funds with Sanchez's appealing résumé and support from Pombo would make Sanchez the strong favorite. Finance reports were unavailable for either candidate. This race is still in flux. Late contribution reports will show whether Sanchez pulls away, or late-arriving McCabe cash makes it a horse race.

LEANS DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 18 *Reg: D 56%; R 25%; DS 15%*

Incumbent: Ellen Corbett (D) Geography: Central Alameda County.

Ellen Corbett is secure in this district full of blue collar — and yellow dog — Democrats. Republican Jack Hovingh won't teach these old dogs any new tricks.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

District 19 *Reg: D 51%; R 27%; DS 18%*

Incumbent: Open Seat — Lou Pappan (D) termed out. Geography: All but northern-most San Mateo County.

The Democrats' "celebrity death match" district. Gina Pappan, daughter of current incumbent Lou, has long prepared to for this run. Thanks mainly to a huge transfer from dad's committee, she showed $378,000 on hand January 24. She boasts major Democrat leadership endorsors including Assembly Speaker Herb Wesson, former Speaker Bob Hertzberg, Senate President John Burton, and Lt. Governor Cruz Bustamonte, along with the California Professional Firefighters and the California AFL-CIO. All that would usually make her a cinch, but for two serious challengers.

Redwood City attorney David Pine has raised $320,000 for his campaign, with $175,000 on hand January 24. He is prominent in the business community, having served as general counsel for handheld computer-maker Handspring. He is running as an "outsider," non-politician — still an attractive image to the liberal Democrats who fill this district. His finances and message make him a serious contender despite a lack of big name endorsements.

The third serious candidate is South San Francisco Mayor Pro-Tem Gene Mullin, whose January 24 report was not yet available. A recently-retired high school teacher, Mullin has the state's trial lawyers' support. Whether they give directly or fund an independent expenditure campaign, a large chunk of lawyer change will land in this district. That, coupled with endorsements from Senator Jackie Speier, Supervisor Mike Nevin, and Daly City Councilwoman Madolyn Agarimonti brand Mullin a realistic threat to win a split decision March 5.

The late contribution reports for this district will use enough paper to deforest several small countries. There is no clear leader at the moment, and probably won't be until late election night. Then look for a close finish.

Fourth Democrat Andrew Cassidy showed $40,000 on hand January 24. In this war of the titans, that will barely make him a blip on the voters' radar. Republican David Kawas will be lucky to achieve blip status in November.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 20 *Reg: D 48%; R 28%; DS 19%*

Incumbent: John Dutra (D) Geography: Western and southern Alameda County, northeastern Santa Clara County.

Republicans held this seat briefly in the '80s. A few more registration points could make them at least competitive again, thanks to the district's many working-class, somewhat conservative Democrats inhabiting cities like Fremont, Milpitas, Newark, and Union City. But for now, John Dutra's solid lock on those voters' affections make his seat safe. Republican Daniel Dow won't change that.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 21 *Reg: 45%; R 33%; DS 17%*

Incumbent: Joe Simitian (D) Geography: Northern and central Santa Clara County, southwestern San Mateo County.

Registration figures like these would make a district competitive in other parts of the state. But this district's Republicans, by and large, are wealthy liberals who feel guilty about their wealth. They do penance by acting like Democrats in the voting booth: giving Bush 35 percent in 2000, Dan Lungren 32 percent in '98, and the Green Party's Assembly candidate 10 percent in 2000. Joe Simitian won easily against a somewhat serious GOP effort to win this district as an open seat in 2000. Republican James Russell will see no such effort this year. Simitian is secure as can be.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 22 *Reg: D 44%; R 30%; DS 21%*

Incumbent: Open Seat — Elaine Alquist (D) termed

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out. Geography: Central Santa Clara County.

Proving Republicans aren't alone in suffering from internal, ideologically-based fissures, this primary presents another center-left/far-left Democrat battle. The moderate liberal/organized labor-backed candidate is Santa Clara City Councilman Rod Diridon, Jr. Son of an eponymously-named former county supervisor, Diridon (1/24: $221,000) is endorsed by Senator John Vasconcellos, Assemblyman Fred Kelley, Santa Clara County Sheriff Laurie Smith, former Congressman Norm Mineta, and a slew of labor organizations. His advantages include his family's name, a long history of local Democrat activism, his current bank roll, and strong union support.

But he is not a shoe-in because candidate Sally Lieber, wife of a former CISCO executive, is capable of considerable self-funding ($204,000 on hand January 24). A Mountain View City Council member, she is endorsed by Assemblywoman Rebecca Cohn, and managed to split the local COPE endorsement with Diridon. She has the ideological profile Senator Sheila Kuhl must have had in mind when she wrote her "let's elect real Democrats" letter.

This ballot issues this election are unlikely to drive the most liberal Democrats to the polls in large numbers, and any kind of representative election-day turnout would favor Diridon. An exceptionally light turnout, however, could favor Lieber. Diridon rates as the slight favorite, but Lieber remains within striking distance. The outcome will affect the internal make-up of the Democrat caucus, not the Assembly's partisan balance. Republican Stan Kawczynski has little chance.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 23 *Reg: D 53%; R 23%; DS 19%*

Incumbent: Manny Diaz (D) Geography: San Jose

Manny Diaz's toughest race was his first, the 2000 primary, which he won by a hair. He won't need to stock up on rogaine to keep this Democrat and Hispanic seat. No Republican filed. **SAFE DEMOCRAT**

DISTRICT 24 *Reg: D 46%; R 32%; DS 17%*

Incumbent: Rebecca Cohn (D) Geography: Southern Santa Clara County.

Republicans could be competitive in this district, but not without fielding a candidate. Rebecca Cohn is unopposed. **SAFE DEMOCRAT**

DISTRICT 25 *Reg: R 44%; D 40%; DS 11%*

Incumbent: Dave Cogdil (R) Geography: Calaveras, Madera, Mariposa, Mono, and Tuolumne counties and most of Stanislaus County.

Don't let the registration numbers fool you. The Democrats here are conservative, and this district is part of the Republican-trending swath through the Sierra foothills running from Tehachapi near Bakersfield to Oregon. In '98, every GOP statewide candidate, including Lungren, carried this district. Bush won here by 14 points. Dave Cogdil can concentrate on helping other Republicans win in November. Neither Democrat, Wesley Firch or Denise Smith, will keep him busy. **SAFE REPUBLICAN**

DISTRICT 26 *Reg: D 45%; R 42%; DS 8%*

Incumbent: Open Seat — Dennis Cardoza (D) termed out. Geography: Western Stanislaus County, eastern San Joaquin County.

Republican Greg Aghazarian, a narrow loser to Barbara Matthews in 2000, is running again in a similar, but significantly more Republican district. Aghazarian, a conservative businessman/attorney from Stockton, announced early for this seat and has been campaigning hard. While reporting just $40,000 on hand January 24, he is endorsed by local GOP icon, Board of Equalization member Dean Andal, a majority of the GOP Assembly caucus, Stockton Mayor Gary Podesto, and Alex Spanos.

Escalon farmer Rick Veldstra, a second conservative who lost to Aghazarian in the 2000 primary, reported only $381.00 on hand January 24, but any votes he receives will come directly from Aghazarian, benefitting the third candidate: moderate Chuck Winn of Stanislaus County. Winn's January 24 statement was unavailable, but he is widely believed able to self-finance his campaign. If so, and if Veldstra mounts a serious effort, Winn could win a closely split primary.

Still, Aghazarian is the proven candidate, and with Alex Spanos in his corner should be able to raise whatever he thinks necessary to win. The bottom line question is whether Aghazarian can protect his base in San Joaquin County and attract enough votes in Stanislaus. Or, conversely, can Winn protect his Stanislaus base and take enough San Joaquin votes to prevail? Aghazarian remains a strong favorite, but watch the late contribution reports on this one.

The Democrat primary is harder to handicap. Modesto attorney Tom Hallinan reported only $2,900 on hand January 24 and Tim Weinz had no report avail-

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able at all. Even though Bush won here by 7 points and Lungren lost by only two, this district is less-solidly GOP than Dave Cogdil's A.D. 25, so either Democrat might run a competitive race here in November. The 26th sits beneath Condit's congressional district and the open 14th Senate district. The up-ticket races for those seats will heavily impact the Assembly race here. This could be fun to watch in the fall.

LIKELY REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 27 *Reg: D 47%; R 29%; DS 16%*

Incumbent: Open Seat — Fred Keeley (D) termed out. Geography: Monterey, Santa Clara, and Santa Cruz counties.

What could have been a tough, spirited primary turned out to be a cakewalk for John Laird. A member of the Cabrillo College Board of Trustees, Laird had the early endorsement of incumbent Keeley and is unopposed in the primary. Two Republicans would like to oppose him in November — liberal Scotts Valley Councilwoman Stephany Aguilar and conservative realtor Chuck Carter. Other than for internal GOP bragging rights, it matters not a wit which one wins. This largely coastal district will give Laird smooth sailing to Sacramento.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 28 *Reg: D 52%; R 30%; DS 10%*

Incumbent: Simon Salinas (D) Geography: Inland portions of Monterey and Santa Cruz counties, parts of San Benito and Santa Clara County.

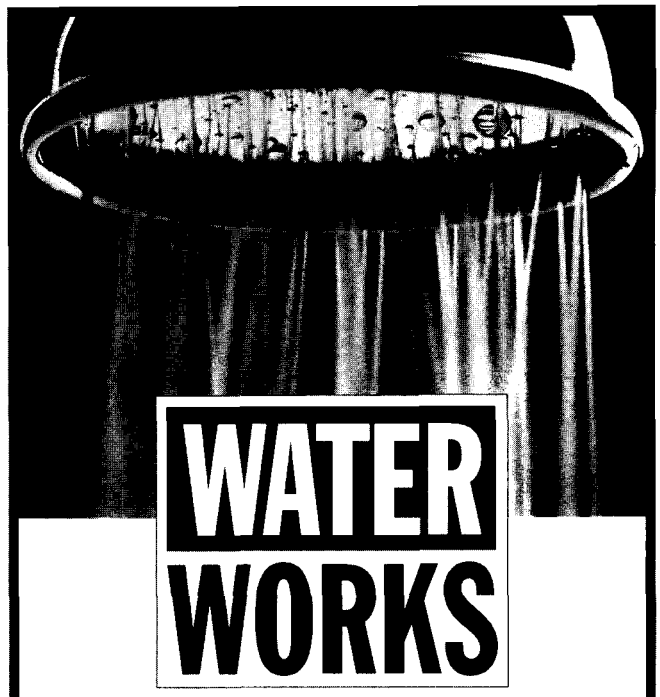
Given a 59 percent Hispanic population and a 38 percent (and growing) Hispanic voter registration, Simon Salinas fits this seat comfortably. Although former Assemblyman Peter Frusetta (who was fluent in Spanish) won this district three times for the GOP, redistricting removed several loyal Republican areas. And Republican Jane Howard, though well-known and liked in GOP circles, is no Peter Frusetta.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 29 *Reg: R 49%; D 38%; DS 10%*

Incumbent: Open Seat — Mike Briggs (R) not running. Geography: Parts of Fresno, Madera, and Tulare counties.

Two conservatives oppose one another in this conservative, heavily-Republican district. The winner will certainly be the next Assemblyman, so the primary has been hot, volatile, and, some say, mean-spirited. Steve Samuelian, former staffer for popular local Congress-



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man George Radanovich and nephew of Republican power Karl Samuelian, was the early favorite. Reports of Samuelian's run-in with the law for soliciting a prostitute, however, threw that status into a cocked hat. Even Radanovich shied away from the campaign after that revelation, though he did not endorse Samuelian's opponent. Samuelian has lots of contacts throughout the district, and his uncle gives him entrée to GOP bucks. With $63,000 on hand January 24 (having spent $80,000), he is endorsed by Senator Dick Monteith, the local chapter of the California Republican Assembly, and local legendary basketball coach Jerry Tarkanian.

Businessman and former sheriff's deputy Larry Willey is giving Samuelian a serious race. Brought into the campaign when the candidacy of local television newscaster John Wallace failed to take off, Willey showed $142,000 on hand January 24, having spent $31,000. His support from well-known GOP rancher and contributor John Harris somewhat balances Karl Samuelian's cachet for his nephew. The Madera and Fresno County District Attorneys also support him. But Willey had a skeleton in his own closet: past contributions to Democrats. Whose transgression will the conservative electorate decide to overlook: Samuelian's or Willey's?

Democrat Richard Martinez, Jr., will be a non-factor in November. The GOP primary winner will be the next Assemblyman. At this point the race is a toss-up.

SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 30 *Reg: D 49%; R 36%; DS 10%*

Incumbent: Open Seat — Dean Florez (D) not running. Geography: Parts of Fresno, Kern, Kings, and Tulare counties.

One of the state's hottest Democrat primaries. Farmer, and immediate past Kern County Farm Bureau president, Jim Crettol is a moderate, supported by incumbent Dean Florez and local Senator Jim Costa. He boasts long service on local boards, commissions, and other community service groups. With $103,000 on hand January 24, his ag ties give him the contacts to raise considerably more. His opponent is liberal Nicole Parra, an aide to local Congressman Cal Dooley and daughter of a Kern County Supervisor. Though only reporting $43,000 on hand January 24, her support from the "Gay Caucus" and from Latinos currently in the Legislature give her substantial fund-raising potential.

The Crettol/Parra race has been a little nasty, promising to become more so as election day approaches. The U.S. Postal Service deficit might be covered from this campaign's mail alone. Although Crettol is the favorite (based on available cash, if nothing else), Parra can by no means be ruled out.

On the Republican side, businessman, former teacher, and gun-stock manufacturer Dean Gardner is the more conservative candidate. Jerry Salazar, a government biologist, is more moderate on a wide range of issues. That being so, local conservative activists support Gardner, which might be enough to win this low key race. But Salazar's positions are not so un-conservative as to make him unacceptable to the GOP base here. Neither candidates' January 24 finance reports were available.

If the moderate Crettol wins the Democrat primary, Republicans will probably forego a major November effort here. But with Bush beating Gore here by a point while several other statewide GOP candidates won the district, a primary victory by the liberal Parra would almost certainly trigger a full-blown GOP effort in the fall.

TOSS UP

DISTRICT 31 *Reg: D 53%; R 34%; DS 10%*

Incumbent: Sarah Reyes (D) Geography: Northern Fresno and most of Tulare County.

Though tough-sledding for Republican candidates, this district — 42 percent Latino by voter registration — is too good for the GOP to let pass with no effort, although that is exactly what it did by fielding no candidate. Sarah Reyes would certainly have been reelected anyway, but now she can spend her time, and money, helping neighboring Democrats.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 32 *Reg: R 53%; D 32%; DS 10%*

Incumbent: Open Seat — Roy Ashburn (R) termed out. Geography: Most of Kern County and a slice of San Bernardino County's high desert.

An ugly GOP battle royal in the primary for this solid Republican seat. The internal machinations are 'way too complex to explain fully here, but this essentially is another conservative vs. liberal Republican family fight.

Conservative Bakersfield City Councilman Mike Maggard (1/24: $109,000), a CPA by profession, has the strong support of local public safety groups, the Building Industry Association, and has been endorsed by local former Senator Don Rogers.

Liberal Kevin McCarthy (1/24: $127,000), a top aide to local Congressman Bill Thomas, is endorsed by Assemblyman Rod Pacheco, and by former Assemblymen Trice Harvey, Bruce Thompson, and Brooks Firestone.

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This is a battle of the "Thomasites" versus the "non-Thomasites," part of a long-standing feud with plenty of bad blood on both sides. This installment, like most in this conflict, will be expensive, nasty, and personal. Good, old-fashioned "ground operations" may, in fact, settle this contest, despite the blizzard of mail sent out. Delivering committed voters to the polls, especially in a light turnout election, will probably determine the winner. Right now, the race is too close to call, and will likely remain so. Late contribution reports could show if either candidate pulls away, as well as any "independent expenditure" efforts on behalf of either candidate.

A third Republican, Sam Thomas, appears to be having little impact. Democrat Michael Shea III is simply irrelevant.

SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 33 *Reg: R 43%; D 37%; DS 13%*

Incumbent: Abel Maldonado (R) Geography: All of San Luis Obispo County and northern Santa Barbara County.

This loyal Republican seat — Bush beat Gore here by 14 points — will allow Abel Maldonado to spend his time preparing to run for the state Senate in two years instead of worrying about reelection. Neither Democrat Laurence Houlgate nor Merrily Karr can make things close.

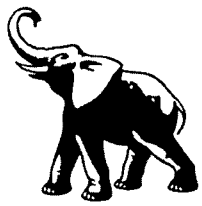
SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 34 *Reg: R 46%; D 38%; DS 12%*

Incumbent: Open Seat — Phil Wyman (R) is running in A.D. 36. Geography: All of Inyo County, rural portions of Kern, San Bernardino, and Tulare counties.

In a change of pace, this one-party seat — Bush won by 25 points here — has no contest. Tulare County Supervisor Bill Maze, unopposed in the primary, will become the Assemblyman this fall. Democrat Virginia Gurrola will serve on the local central committee.

SAFE REPUBLICAN



With Bush beating Gore here by a point, a primary victory by the liberal Parra would almost certainly trigger a full-blown GOP effort in the fall.

DISTRICT 35 *Reg: D 44%; R 33%; DS 16%*

Incumbent: Hannah-Beth Jackson (D) Geography: Southern Santa Barbara County and a slice of coastal Ventura County.

Both liberal Republican Brooks Firestone and moderate Democrat Jack O'Connell have represented this turf. To Hannah-Beth Jackson's relief, redistricting made swinging between parties a bit more difficult for voters here, with the new district becoming a little more dependably Democrat. But these voters will back Republicans — those that don't feel strongly about being Republican, anyway, so Jackson cannot take the district for granted.

The GOP's Bob Pohl has an impressive résumé: former Santa Barbara school board member, former real estate investment specialist, and now consultant for underperforming schools. Although unopposed, he had $41,000 on hand January 24, which shows some seriousness about the race. It will take a great deal more than that to give Jackson a serious contest, but this district is dotted with wealthy — and Republican — enclaves such as Santa Ynez and Montecito, providing the potential for an interesting fall campaign.

LIKELY DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 36 *Reg: R 45%; D 37%; DS 13%*

Incumbent: Open Seat — George Runner (R) termed out. Geography: The Antelope Valley portion of Los Angeles County, the Victorville area of San Bernardino County.

A pitched battle between two GOP high desert dynasties: Assemblyman Phil Wyman was first elected to the Assembly from this turf in 1978 and reelected by increasing margins. A special election put Wyman in the state Senate in 1993, but he lost the seat a year later in a general election in a redrawn, radically different district. After a stint back in the private sector, Wyman returned to the Assembly in 2000 from the 34th A.D. The Wyman family has been a Tehachapi fixture for more than 100 years, and Wyman is a familiar, com-

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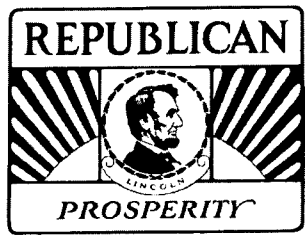
fortable name to many area Republicans.

Sharon Runner, wife of incumbent George Runner, cannot claim a heritage as old as Wyman's, but, between them, the Runners are well-known and liked by Republicans in the southern portion of the district. She co-founded, with her husband, the Desert Christian School, and has been an active realtor. Endorsed by popular local Senator Pete Knight and by Assemblymembers Lynne Leach, Ken Maddox, and Charlene Zettel, Runner's January 24 report showed $114,000 on hand.

Wyman reported $101,000 on hand, but a fund-raiser since then added $45,000 to the total. He is endorsed by Secretary of State Bill Jones, former Governor George Deukmejian, Bruce Herschensohn, the NRA, Gun Owners of California, and Assemblymen Tony Strickland and Mike Briggs. An early January survey — commissioned for the Wyman campaign — showed him leading Runner by a wide margin. His name I.D., a solid conservative voting record (in this solidly conservative district), and his cash position make Wyman the favorite — at this point. Republicans here are used to voting for him, and once all the campaign back-and-forth has finished, that can count for a lot.



Tony Strickland is the leading example of a Republican considered 'too conservative' to win by many 'experts' — but not by voters.

But the Runners cannot be counted out of this race. Though termed out, George remains an Assemblyman, with means to raise money for his wife. Additionally, he represented far more of this new district than Wyman did. But in the end, Wyman's long history of leadership for conservative Republican causes and issues will probably count for more with the GOP base than Sharon Runner's promise to do the same.

Palmdale's Republican Mayor James Ledford filed for the race but has since withdrawn and endorsed Wyman. The other GOP hopeful, Ollie McCaulley, has been unable to gain traction.

Neither Democrat — Byron Bostic or Robert Davenport — will be a factor. **SAFE REPUBLICAN**

DISTRICT 37 *Reg: R 46%; D 35%; DS 14%*

Incumbent: Tony Strickland (R) Geography: Most of Ventura County, the northwest portion of the San Fernando Valley in Los Angeles County.

Tony Strickland is the leading example of a Republican considered "too conservative" to win by many "experts" — but not by voters. Opposed by liberal primary challengers repeating the "too conservative to win" theme each time he ran, Strickland has never lost an election here. Democrats made him a top target the last two cycles, coming close but never beating him. Finally giving up, they instructed the map-makers to move Strickland's loyal Democrat precincts to Fran Pavley's 41st. A.D. Strickland can now breathe easy, though term limits make him eligible for only one more term. Democrat Bruce Thomas, Jr., will not come close to denying him that. **SAFE REPUBLICAN**

DISTRICT 38 *Reg: R 46%; D 36%; DS 14%*

Incumbent: Keith Richman (R) Geography: Simi Valley portion of Ventura County, the far northern parts of the San Fernando Valley in LA County.

Keith Richman has no worries here. Democrat Paula Calderon won't keep him below 60 percent in November. **SAFE REPUBLICAN**

DISTRICT 39 *Reg: D 61%; R 20%; DS 14%*

Incumbent: Open Seat — Tony Cardenas (D) termed out. Geography: Central, western San Fernando Valley in L.A. County.

City of San Fernando Mayor Cindy Montanez is the clear favorite here. Showing $162,000 on hand January 24, she is endorsed by Congressmen Xavier Becerra and Hilda Solis, by Senators Richard Alarcon, Sheila Kuehl, and Gloria Romero, Assemblywomen Judy Chu and Carole Migden, former Assembly Speaker Antonio Villaraigosa, and the L.A. County AFL-CIO. With all that, she should be unassailable, and may turn out to be

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so. But incumbent Tony Cardenas has endorsed his district director, Yolanda Fuentes, who reported $63,000 on hand January 24. Fuentes is also supported by L.A. City Council President Alex Padella, who represents much of this area. This is an old-fashioned turf war, and at this point the advantage belongs to Montanez. Watch the late contribution reports, though. Cardenas and Padella can raise considerable cash in a short time. If they do, Fuentes could make a contest of it. Without such a cash infusion, however, Montanez will certainly be sworn into office next December. Republicans Ely De La Cruz Ayao and Raymond Olson are battling for central committee seats. **SAFE DEMOCRAT**

DISTRICT 40 *Reg: D 49%; R 32%; DS 14%*

Incumbent: Open Seat — Bob Hertzberg (D) termed out. Geography: The northwest portion of the San Fernando Valley in L.A. County.

A dilly of a Democrat family feud here between two relatively young candidates, with endorsements and cash flying hot and heavy. On one side is Andrei Cherney, 26, former aide to the incumbent, Speaker Bob Hertzberg. Though a local Valley product, Cherney graduated from Harvard and served as an Al Gore speech writer. His January 24 report showed $167,000 on hand, after spending $51,000 the previous three weeks. Besides Speaker Hertzberg, Cherney is endorsed by Assemblymen Herb Wesson, Gil Cedillo, Tony Cardenas, and former local Assemblyman Richard Katz.

On the other side is Lloyd Levine, 32, Assemblyman John Longville's legislative director. Also a local product, Levine showed $147,000 on hand January 24, after he had spent $20,000 the previous three weeks. The son of well-known political consultant Larry Levine, young Levine is endorsed by Congressman Joe Baca, Senators Sheila Kuehl, Kevin Murray, and Ed Vincent, and Assemblymembers Jerome Horton, John Longville, Carole Migden and Rod Wright. He also has an array of local union endorsements.

As with A.D. 39, this is mainly turf war. Levine and Cherney are both well-spoken, well-financed liberals. With scant difference separating them on issues, the balance may be tipped one way or the other by voters' reaction to their competing endorsements. The March 5 winner will almost certainly go on to represent the 44th in the Assembly. Republican Connie Friedman has the political contacts in both parties to run a respectable race in November, but an extraordinary combination of events would be required to make her truly competitive. **LIKELY DEMOCRAT**

DISTRICT 41 *Reg: D 49%; R 31%; DS 15%*

Incumbent: Fran Pavley (D) Geography: A small portion of the southern San Fernando Valley and the coast of western Los Angeles and southern Ventura counties.

Republicans, thinking they could steal this district from the Democrats in 2000 when it was open, spent $360,000 trying. But savvy politico Fran Pavley took this loyal Democrat seat by 15 points. She will have even less trouble this year with Republican Michael Wissot. **SAFE DEMOCRAT**

DISTRICT 42 *Reg: D 56%; R 22%; DS 17%*

Incumbent: Paul Koretz (D) Geography: Most of the Santa Monica Mountains area of L.A. County.

From wealthy Los Feliz and Toluca Lake on the east to wealthy Bel Air and Pacific Highlands on the west, this district is very rich and very Democrat. It is one of the few districts in the state where George Bush actually lagged GOP registration, receiving only 21 percent. Freshman Paul Koretz is safe as can be here. Republican Jeffrey Bissiri will do nothing to alter that. **SAFE DEMOCRAT**

DISTRICT 43 *Reg: D 46%; R 33%; DS 16%*

Incumbent: Dario Frommer (D) Geography: Most of the city of Glendale, all of the city of Burbank, and the North Hollywood and Eagle Rock portions of Los Angeles.

Ten years ago, not a single Democrat represented this territory at any level of partisan government. Today not a single Republican does so. Demographic changes and astute Democrat map-drawing helped transform GOP territory into Democrat bastion. Dario Frommer is safe here until term limits force him out in 2006. The area retains a remnant of old Republican strength sufficient to allow GOP candidate Ingrid Geyer to run a respectable race, but the possibilities top out at "respectable"; they don't approach "winnable."
SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 44 *Reg: D 48%; R 34%; DS 14%*

Incumbent: Carol Liu (D) Geography: Eastern San Gabriel Valley, including the cities of Arcadia, Pasadena, South Pasadena, and Temple City in L.A. County.

Most of what was said about A.D. 43 above also ap-

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plies here. Immigration and creative map drawing by Democrats has made this fairly solid Democrat turf. Carol Liu is the second Democrat to represent most of these communities in the Assembly — ever. She will not be the last under the current configuration. Republican Dan O'Connell, an L.A. County Deputy District Attorney, has the makings of a serious challenger, but it would take the political equivalent of drawing to an inside straight for him to move close to Lui this November. **LIKELY DEMOCRAT**

DISTRICT 45 *Reg: D 62%; R 16%; DS 16%*

Incumbent: Jackie Goldberg (D) Geography: Hollywood and nearby areas of Los Angeles.

The 45th, where Bush managed just 17 percent, is happy hunting ground for especially left-wing Democrats, an order Jackie Goldberg happily fills. Goldberg has the courage of her convictions: no "moderatation" dilutes either her ideology or personality. The 45th's voters showed their approval in 2000, giving her 95 percent of their votes. This November, facing no Republican and only a Libertarian Party opponent, she stands to repeat that near-unanimous performance. **SAFE DEMOCRAT**

DISTRICT 46 *Reg: D 71%; R 11%; DS 13%*

Incumbent: Open Seat — Gil Cedillo (D) termed out. Geography: Central and eastern Los Angeles with the cities of Huntington Park and Maywood in L.A. County.

This district is a sign of Hispanic progress in California politics. The battle here is not about electing a Latino, only about which faction the Latino Assemblyman will represent. Carrying the banner for what can loosely be called the Villaraigosa/Cedillo faction is L.A. School District Legislative Advocate and former AFL-CIO staffer Fabian Nunez. Showing $120,000 on hand January 24 after spending $12,000 the previous three weeks, Nunez has has the firm backing of the former Speaker and incumbent Cedillo, and endorsements from Assemblyman Marco Firebaugh, the L.A. AFL-CIO and several local union groups.

The opposing, loosely-characterized Roybal-Allard/Becerra faction is represented by Roybal-Allard staffer Pedro Carrillo. Besides Xavier Becerra's and Lucille Roybal-Allard's congressional endorsements, Carrillo is supported by L.A. City Councilmen Ed Reyes and Nick Pacheco and a smattering of local union endorsements, although Nunez is clearly organized labor's horse in this race. With, once again, almost no issue differences separating the candidates, victory will go to the representative of the most effective coalition. On finances alone, Nunez is the slight favorite. But this is part of an all-out war for domination of L.A. Latino politics, so expect a fierce campaign, personal and heated — and watch late contributions for trends.

A Democrat primary leaving permanent scars could give Republican Manny Aldana, Jr., a fighting chance to beat Dan Lungren's 10 percent showing in 1998 or even George Bush's 12 percent in 2000.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 47 *Reg: D 68%; R 14%; DS 14%*

Incumbent: Herb Wesson (D) Geography: Culver City and surrounding areas of Los Angeles.

Term limits will force Herb Wesson out in 2004. He need not sweat this last reelection effort. Behavioral scientists are studying Republicans Mark Harris and Jonathan Leonard to try to figure out why they would bother. **SAFE DEMOCRAT**

DISTRICT 48 *Reg: D 75%; R 9%; DS 11%*

Incumbent: Open Seat — Rod Wright (D) termed out. Geography: West-central Los Angeles.

What could have been a tough, competitive primary has turned into a possible breeze for L.A. City Councilman Mark Ridley-Thomas. Former executive director of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Ridley-Thomas reported $128,000 on hand January 24. Mike Davis, staffer to L.A. County Supervisor Yvonne Burke, was expected to give Ridley-Thomas a serious contest, especially in view of incumbent Wright's endorsement of Davis. But January 24 Davis showed only $34,000 on hand, indicating either that his campaign has imploded or, perhaps, that Burke/Wright are holding off showing how much cash they can steer to Davis. Later campaign reports will show a *tsunami* of bucks for Davis or this election is over. Republican Gerard Robinson might best Bush's 8 percent.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 49 *Reg: D 50%; R 27%; DS 19%*

Incumbent: Judy Chu (D) Geography: Southern San Gabriel Valley, including El Monte, Alhambra, Monterey Park, Rosemead, and San Gabriel.

Judy Chu, first Asian to represent this area in the Legislature, won't be the last. But she will retire undefeated in 2008 when term limits force her out. Re-

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publican George Shen could run a respectable race — statewide GOP candidates still routinely pull in the low 40s here. And although the district's socially-conservative major ethnic groups — Latino and Asian — offer the GOP future promise, Chu has a lock for now. **SAFE DEMOCRAT**

DISTRICT 50 *Reg: D 64%; R 19%; DS 12%*

Incumbent: Marco Firebaugh (D) Geography: Southeastern L.A. County.

Latinos now represent 57 percent of this district's registered voters, and Marco Firebaugh represents them well. Republican Gladys Miller will do nothing to change that in November.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 51 *Reg: D 65%; R 17%; DS 12%*

Incumbent: Jerome Horton (D) Geography: Southwestern L.A. County, including the cities of Inglewood, Hawthorne, Gardena, and Lawndale.

Long the stomping grounds of bombastic and colorful Dick Floyd, this fiercely loyal, blue-collar Democrat turf is now represented in the Assembly by former Inglewood Councilman Jerome Horton, who works as a CPA in real life. Republican Cliff McClain will be an election asterisk. **SAFE DEMOCRAT**

DISTRICT 52 *Reg: D 75%; R 8%; DS 9%*

Incumbent: Open Seat — Carl Washington (D) termed out. Geography: All of Paramount, south-central Los Angeles, and northern Long Beach.

Old soldiers may "never die," but at least they "fade away." Not so old politicians, at least not in this, California's least-Republican legislative district. The odds-on favorite to win the Democrat primary — and, thereby, a place in the Assembly — is former Assemblyman, former state Senator, former congressman, former Lieutenant Governor Mervin Dymally. Seventy-five years old and not appreciably slowed, this venerable war horse reported $72,000 on hand January 24, having spent $26,000 the preceding three weeks. Congresswoman Diane Watson, L.A. County Sheriff Lee Baca, and a slew of local officials and unions endorse Dymally.

Old soldiers may 'never die,' but at least they 'fade away.' Not so old politicians, at least not in California's least-Republican legislative district.

Four other Democratic candidates — Shirley Allen, Lois Hill, Alexandra Gallardo-Rocker, and Diane Martinez — simply won't matter. The 52nd's Democrat voters will deliver this last coronation for Dymally by a massive margin. Republican Mark Iles earns the Don Quixote award.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 53 *Reg: D 42%; R 36%; DS 16%*

Incumbent: George Nakano (D) Geography: Beach cities El Segundo, Hermosa Beach, and Redondo Beach, most of Torrance and the Venice section of Los Angeles.

Though the new 53rd slightly improves Democrat margins over the old, this remains one of the state's few potentially-competitive seats. Just not this year: the last go-'round for George Nakano, who has twice breezed to victory and will again in March and, most likely, in November. But come 2004, when term limits open this seat up, look for a hot contest.

For now, Republican CPA Linda Wilson can only hope some sort of political lightning strikes. Otherwise, GOP money will probably go to greener pastures. The large Republican base vote here keeps the district out of the "Safe Democrat" category.

LIKELY DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 54 *Reg: D 46%; R 36%; DS 13%*

Incumbent: Allen Lowenthal (D) Geography: Most of Long Beach, the San Pedro area of Los Angeles, and Palos Verdes.

This district has changed partisan hands three times in the last 10 years, and remains competitive for both parties. Former Long Beach City Councilman Allen Lowenthal won a comfortable victory in 2000, but cannot rest on those laurels. Though this district is prob-

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ably a better target in 2004 (when, as in the neighboring 53rd A.D., the incumbent is termed out), Republican realtor Cesar Castellanos has the potential to give Lowenthal a real run. Whether that prospect moves from potential to real depends on events around the state this summer and fall. In the meantime expect Lowenthal to stockpile cash, just in case.

LIKELY DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 55 *Reg: D 57%; R 25%; DS 24%*

Incumbent: Jenny Oropeza (D) Geography: North Long Beach, cities of Carson and Lakewood, the "Harbor Corridor" section of Los Angeles.

Former Long Beach Councilwoman Jenny Oropeza won a tough primary in 2000 when this was an open seat. That will be her last difficult election in this seat. Republican Ron Noe has "noe chance."

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 56 *Reg: D 52%; R 30%; DS 14%*

Incumbent: Open Seat — Sally Havice (D) running for Congress. Geography: Southeast Los Angeles County, including the cities of Norwalk, Cerritos, and Whittier, and the northern Orange County city of Buena Park.

Yet another patch of formerly-solid GOP turf turned Democrat-friendly via demographic change and map-making legerdemain. With slightly different boundaries, this seat changed partisan hands three times during the '90s. That was then however, and this is now, and the "now" version of the district is solidly Democrat.

Norwalk City Councilman Rudy Bermudez (1/24: $118,000) carries a slew of endorsements including Assembly Speaker Hertzberg and incumbent Havice. He adds strong labor support to that, making a winning combination. Fellow Democrat Sally Zuniga-Flowers, a member of the Artesia City Council, showed only $34,000 in the bank January 24 and appears to have little prospect of being competitive with Bermudez. In the fall, Republican John Brantuk has even less chance of throwing his Democrat opponent into a Bermudez Triangle of a tough race. **SAFE DEMOCRAT**

DISTRICT 57 *Reg: D 53%; R 28%; DS 14%*

Incumbent: Ed Chavez (D) Geography: East San Gabriel Valley cities of Azusa, Baldwin Park, Covina, La Puente, and West Covina in L.A. County.

Although redistricting changed this district somewhat, making it slightly more Republican, former La Puente Mayor Ed Chavez has a solid lock on this gaggle of small municipalities. Neither Republican, Ann Moll or Paul Pimentel, will be competitive.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 58 *Reg: D 56%; R 28%; DS 12%*

Incumbent: Open Seat — Thomas Calderon (D) running for Insurance Commissioner. Geography: Most of the city of East Los Angeles and the eastern L.A. County cities of Downey, Montebello, Pico Rivera, and Whittier.

Can the Calderon clan continue to build a dynasty? Former Senator Charles Calderon, and current incumbent Thomas Calderon, are hoping that brother Ronald (1/24: $62,000) makes it a trifecta for the family. Besides his brothers, Assemblymen Herb Wessen, Ed Chavez, and Dennis Cardoza have also endorsed Ronald. But this will be no free ride. Former state Democrat Party Vice Chairman Charles Fuentes has a long history of activism in local Democrat politics. His January 24 report was unavailable, but he has impressive endorsements from Congresswomen Nancy Pelosi and Grace Napolitano, L.A. Mayor James Hahn, L.A. City Councilman Nate Holden, and L.A. County Sheriff Lee Baca. All this, added to Fuentes' own direct Party connections, mean he can be financially competitive — and more — with Calderon.

Most observers rate the race extremely close, though Calderon gets a slight edge — very slight — because voters know his family name so well. Expect a tight finish, and watch late contribution reports for some indication of who will come out on top the morning after the primary. Do not expect a tight finish in the fall with Republican Leonard Zuniga. **SAFE DEMOCRAT**

DISTRICT 59 *Reg: R 47%; D 35%; DS 13%*

Incumbent: Dennis Mountjoy (R) Geography: High desert cities of Apple Valley and Hesperia in San Bernardino County, San Gabriel Valley cities of Claremont, Glendora, La Verne, Duarte, Sierra Madre, and San Dimas in L.A. County.

Dennis Mountjoy — son of former Assemblyman and Senator Dick Mountjoy — won a tough primary and general elections when this was an open seat in 2000. The Democrats, having failed to dent him with their best shot, gave the okay to the map-makers to make this an even more solidly Republican district. Every GOP statewide candidate — yes, even Lungren — carried the district in 1998, and Bush topped Gore

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by 14 points in 2000. Democrat Patrick Smith won't interrupt the Mountjoy family dominance here.

SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 60 *Reg: R 49%; D 21%; DS 15%*

Incumbent: Robert Pacheco (R) Geography: East Los Angeles County cities of La Mirada, La Habra Heights, Diamond Bar, and Walnut, north Orange County cities of Orange and Yorba Linda.

Former Walnut City Councilman Robert Pacheco had to be one of the happiest observers of the new legislative districts. The map makers moved the lines of this district into Orange County, and in so doing changed a competitive seat into a safe GOP bastion. He is termed out in 2004, so he won't have much time to enjoy his new security, but at least he can cruise through this election. Democrat Adrian Martinez will be a non-factor.

SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 61 *Reg: D 51%; R 32%; DS 13%*

Incumbent: Gloria Negrete-McLeod (D) Geography: East Los Angeles County city of Pomona, west San Bernardino County cities of Chino, Montclair, and Ontario.

Redistricting made what had been a highly competitive district into a safe haven for the Legislature's only great grandmother. The GOP gave Gloria Negrete-McLeod a tough fight in 2000, but won't this year. Republican Matt Munson might pull GOP registration, or perhaps even a tad more, in November, but his vote share will not climb beyond the mid-30s percent range.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 62 *Reg: D 58%; R 27%; DS 10%*

Incumbent: John Longville (D) Geography: Western San Bernardino County cities of Fontana, Rialto, Colton, and San Bernardino.

John Longville headed the Assembly committee in charge of redistricting, so it's no surprise his already safe district saw few changes. When term limits force him to leave in 2004, this district will probably elect an Hispanic. Republican Edward Scott will not be a factor.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 63 *Reg: R 45%; D 39%; DS 12%*

Incumbent: Open Seat — Bill Leonard (R) termed out. Geography: Urbanized western portions of Riverside and San Bernardino counties.

A battle based partly on issues and partly on "turf" has shaped the GOP primary in this safe Republican seat. Rancho Cucamonga Councilman Bob Dutton, the conservative in the race, showed $102,000 on hand January 24, after spending $54,000 the previous three weeks. He is endorsed by incumbent Bill Leonard, Congressmen David Dreier and Gary Miller, a ton of local elected officials, and the Howard Jarvis Taxpayers Association. GOP Senate Leader Jim Brulte has not endorsed Dutton officially, but local activists and observers — citing local "Brulte-istas" assistance to Dutton — assume Brulte is supportive.

Redlands City Councilwoman Susan Peppler (1/24: $44,000) is the moderate standard bearer. Supported by Assemblyman Russ Bogh, Congressman Jerry Lewis, and several local police and fire officials, she also has financial support from local public employee unions.

Though one outcome here will be to add either a conservative or moderate voice to the Assembly GOP caucus, the battle is really for local control in San Bernardino County. Will the Russ Bogh/Rod Pacheco faction rule the roost or will the Jim Brulte/Fred Aquiar (former Assemblyman and now county supervisor) be the local GOP *caporegimes?*

Based on available cash, endorsements, and the innate hand-to-hand combat skills of each camp, the advantage goes to Dutton. He is the better financed, more conservative candidate in a district where the GOP is also conservative. Late contribution reports could change this outlook of course, and public employee unions have been known to spend generously to try to influence Republican primaries, but this race is Dutton's to lose.

Chaffey College professor Sam Stavros will not be a factor in the GOP primary; neither will Democrat Doris Wallace in November.

SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 64 *Reg: R 49%; D 35%; DS 11%*

Incumbent: Open Seat — Rod Pacheco (R) termed out. Geography: Riverside County communities of Moreno Valley, Palm Desert, most of the city of Riverside, and half the city of Moreno Valley.

A thoroughly sticky wicket — and, at deadline, still impossible to tell even who will be on the ballot for the Republicans in this safe GOP seat. Take a deep breath and try to follow this. Riverside accounting firm owner Ray Horspool entered the primary the clear favorite as

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a solid conservative endorsed by local Senator Ray Haynes, Assemblyman Dennis Hollingsworth, and most of the anti-tax, pro-gun, volunteer conservative GOP infrastructure.

Riverside public affairs executive Lou Monville is a liberal endorsed by Congressman Ken Calvert, outgoing incumbent Rod Pacheco, and the "Democrat-lite" faction of the local GOP. About a month ago a Monville supporter sued to remove Horspool's name from the ballot, alleging residency irregularities — resurrecting issues that have been raised against Horspool in the past and repeatedly found to be without merit. This lawsuit, too, initially failed, but the Riverside County registrar invalidated Horspool's voter registration anyway, then printed ballots without Horspool's name on them. Horspool appealed in court, and at this writer's deadline, a federal order had just been issued enjoining Riverside County from sending out the ballots without Horspool's name on them. It now appears likely Horspool, who never stopped campaigning, is back in the race. By the time you read this you will, of course, know for sure — maybe.

If he is on the ballot, Horspool is the favorite. First because voters' sense of fair play typically doesn't react well to candidates who try legal maneuvers to avoid having to face an opponent, as people will think Monville did. Second, this is a conservative district. Horspool simply has more to offer the GOP base here than does Monville. January 24 finance reports showed Horspool with $54,000 on hand, Monville with $65,000. We presume that the final judicial determination of this matter will set off a flurry of late contribution reports for both candidates, but for now it appears Horspool is back at the head of the pack, though the race remains very much in flux.

And we're not through yet! If Horspool ends up not being on the ballot, the ultimate beneficiary might not be Lou Monville but John Benoit. A retired CHP officer with considerable local police and sheriff support, Benoit (1/24: $59,000) is running a quiet, yet persistent, campaign. He has Senator Jim Battin's endorsement and, if Horspool is finally removed, conservatives may throw their support to him, preferring to select their Republican nominee at the ballot box rather than seeing him chosen for them in a courtroom. Benoit has sufficient funding to pick up the pieces if circumstances call for it. All the foregoing notwithstanding, neither Democrat Robert Melsh nor Maria Padilla will benefit much in the fall from the GOP mud-wrestling. This straight-ticket Republican district will send the GOP nominee, whoever he is, into the Assembly. **SAFE REPUBLICAN**

DISTRICT 65 *Reg: R 46%; D 37%; DS 11%*

Incumbent: Scott Bogh (R) Geography: Central San Bernardino and Riverside counties including the cities of Moreno Valley, Yucaipa, Twentynine Palms, Banning, Beaumont, Hemet, and San Jacinto.

Rich retirees and conservative, middle class families make this district safe as can be for Scott Bogh. Democrat Darrel Scholes will founder on this district's conservate shoals in November.

SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 66 *Reg: R 52%; D 31%; DS 12%*

Incumbent: Open Seat — Dennis Hollingsworth (R) running for state Senate. Geography: Southwest Riverside County, north San Diego County including the communities of Fallbrook, Temecula, Murrieta, Lake Elsinore, and a portion of Riverside.

Conservative rising star Dennis Hollingsworth is running for the state Senate, opening the door for long-time conservative leader Ray Haynes to move from the Senate back into what is basically the district that first elected him to the Legislature on 1992. The GOP's solid lock on the district means Democrat Davis Brostrom will be hard pressed to match Gore's 38 percent here.

SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 67 *Reg: R 48%; D 33%; DS 14%*

Incumbent: Tom Harman (R) Geography: Northern and coastal Orange County.

Tom Harman is what happens when Democrats determine Republican nominees, as 2000's "open" primary permitted them to do in the 67th: a Democrat in GOP clothing gets elected. Harman is to the left of Republican voters here on virtually every issue of importance, which is not surprising since he owes his election to Democrat voters making mischief within their opponent's primary. He lost badly among GOP voters in that primary, and would be likely to do so again if conservatives were not content to wait until term limits removes him in 2006. In the meantime, Democrat Wil-

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liam Orton will likely get some cross-over votes from Republicans still mad about 2000, but the GOP base here is loyal, and Harman need not fear November.

SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 68 *Reg: R 46%; D 35%; DS 15%*

Incumbent: Ken Maddox (R) Geography: The central Orange County cities of Costa Mesa, Garden Grove, Anaheim, Fountain Valley, and Westminster.

Redistricting made Ken Maddox's already steadfast GOP district more-so, moving Democrats into the 69th A.D. to bolster Lou Correa. So Maddox will breeze to his third Assembly term. This seat will be open in 2004.

SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 69 *Reg: D 52%; R 32%; DS 12%*

Incumbent: Lou Correa (D) Geography: Central Orange County cities of Anaheim, Garden Grove, and Santa Ana.

The map-makers probably made this district safe for incumbent Lou Correa by pulling every loyal Democrat precinct possible into it. But he is termed out in 2004, giving Republicans a realistic shot at reclaiming it then. This year, Republican Reuben Ross will need a run of stunningly good luck to be competitive.

LIKELY DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 70 *Reg: R 51%; D 28%; DS 16%*

Incumbent: John Campbell (R) Geography: Southern Orange County coast including the cities of Irvine, Newport Beach, Tustin, and Lake Forest.

Wealthy Republicans here appear not to share their Bay Area brethren's guilt about either their money or their politics. Solidly conservative and loyal to the GOP, these voters will return John Campbell to the Assembly with a landslide majority. Democrat John Kane will inspire no 70th A.D. mutiny in November.

SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 71 *Reg: R 55%; D 28%; DS 13%*

Incumbent: Open Seat — Bill Campbell (R) termed out. Geography: Western Orange County cities of Mission Viejo, Santa Margarita, and Orange, western Riverside County cities of Corona and Norco.

You would expect a heated primary contest for one of the safest Republican seats in the state, but Orange County Supervisor Todd Spitzer used a gigantic bank roll and the endorsement of virtually every other GOP office-holder in the area to lock this one up early. A potential primary challenger threw in the towel before filing, assuring Spitzer the title of Assemblyman come December. Democrat Bea Foster will get the deep freeze from these straight-ticket GOP voters.

SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 72 *Reg: R 49%; D 34%; DS 13%*

Incumbent: Lynn Daucher (R) Geography: Northeastern Orange County cities of Anaheim, Brea, Fullerton, Orange, Placentia, and Yorba Linda.

Daucher shares with Tom Harman the distinction of being an Assembly Republican who never won a real GOP (no Democrats) primary. Her triumph in the 2000 "open" primary, when this was an open seat, was made possible by Democrats. Some capitol wags suggest that, in fairness, Harman and Daucher should get a vote in both Party caucuses. For now, conservatives have no plans to go after Daucher or Harman, even though the primary is closed again to Democrat voters. One or both might lose to a conservative primary challenger. But Republicans, evidently wishing to avoid what would be an expensive, bitter battle, apparently have decided to wait for term limits to work before re-invigorating the GOP primary system in these districts.

SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 73 *Reg: R 51%; D 28%; DS 16%*

Incumbent: Pat Bates (R) Geography: Coastal areas of south Orange and north San Diego counties.

Former Laguna Niguel Mayor and Councilwoman Pat Bates is safe as can be in this district, which gave Bush a 20 point margin over Gore. Democrat Kathleen Calzada won't come that close to Bates in November.

SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 74 *Reg: R 47%; D 30%; DS 17%*

Incumbent: Mark Wyland (R) Geography: North San Diego County communities of Carlsbad, Escondido, Encinitas, San Marcos, and Vista.

Mark Wyland won a tough, expensive primary when this was an open seat in 2000. He can now coast in this loyally Republican coastal district. Democrat John Herrera will not be a factor.

SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 75 *Reg: R 47%; D 30%, DS 19%*

Incumbent: Open Seat — Charlene Zettel (R) running for state Senate. Geography: Northern portion of

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San Diego, San Diego County communities of Escondido and Poway.

Escondido Mayor Lori Pfeiler is the most liberal of the 75th's GOP candidates— normally a kiss of death in this conservative district. She would have no chance to win a one-on-one race against a conservative, but the benefit of being the only woman candidate is compounded by a potential three-way split of the conservative vote, making her a top-tier contender.

George Plescia, chief of staff to Senator Bill Morrow, is, like his boss, a strong conservative, and reportedly has some personal money available to supplement the clear financial advantage he showed on the December 31 reports. He has the support of most of the conservative infrastructure in the district, though shares some of that with Greg Stein and Jim Roache. Local observers indicate he is the most effective campaigner of the lot, and has the best-organized volunteer effort.

Former San Diego County Sheriff Jim Roache is also a solid conservative, with strong law enforcement credentials and Assemblyman Jay LaSuer's endorsement. When he was elected sheriff in 1990, Roache had area conservatives' united support. But his campaign this year has been hampered by lagging fund raising and left-over grumbling about political mis-steps taken in his losing 1994 re-election bid as sheriff.

Technology policy consultant Greg Stein rounds out the top tier of candidates. Though not pro-life, Stein seems somewhat conservative on the broad range of issues. His endorsements make an interesting mix: conservative Rep. Darryl Issa with moderate former Rep. Brian Bilbray; conservative Assemblyman Mark Wyland with liberal former Assemblyman Brooks Firestone. But Stein risks being caught in a squeeze, with committed conservatives going to Plescia or Roache and committed liberals going to Pfeiler. Even were there enough true "moderates" in this district to win a GOP primary — there are not — they tend not to vote in large numbers. Trial attorney Sam Sheldon is not actively campaigning.

For now, a slight advantage goes to Plescia, and if he becomes the conservatives' consensus candidate he could win easily. A much closer outcome, however, is probable, and if the conservative vote is widely spread between Plescia, Roach, and Stein, Pfeiler could put this seat in the liberal column with a 30 percent plurality victory. Watch contribution reports for late-developing trends in this one. Democrat Connie Witt will survive March, but lose in November.

SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 76 *Reg: D 41%, R 33%; DS 18%*

Incumbent: Christine Kehoe (D) Geography: Most of San Diego.

While the liberal voting habits of much of the Decline-to-State registration here gives this district a distinctly Democrat tilt, a Democrat registration number this low will always draw covetous Republican eyes. Former San Diego Councilwoman Christine Kehoe easily won what was initially thought to be a tough race in 2000, when this was an open seat, showing that she connects with the voters. But the right set of circumstances — involving top-of-the-ticket politics or the sudden emergence of a dominant, GOP-friendly issue or two — could make this seat competitive. Republican Bob Devine will bide his time and see what developes this summer and fall.

LIKELY DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 77 *Reg: R 46%; D 32%; DS 15%*

Incumbent: Jay LaSuer (R) Geography: South and east San Diego County.

Former San Diego Policeman Jay LaSuer won a knockdown, drag-out primary brawl in 2000 when this was an open seat. No such battle will erupt this year. Loyal Republicans and conservative Democrats here will "back the badge." Democrat Sarah Lowery will not convince the voters to arrest their enthusiasm for LaSuer.

SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 78 *Reg: D 43%; R 35%; DS 16%*

Incumbent: Open Seat — Howard Wayne (D) termed out. Geography: About a quarter of San Diego and the cities of Chula Vista and Lemon Grove.

This is a great district for political junkies who enjoy mean, nasty, personal grudge matches. Interestingly, this year, the hard feelings stirred up regarding this district haven't been stirred up so much between the candidates as between their sponsors: Governor Gray Davis and Senate Democrat leader John Burton.

Trial lawyer Tim Cohelan is the son of a former Democrat Congressman from Berkeley. He is also John Burton's nephew. Vincent Hall is a long-time former aid to Gray Davis, both as governor and lieutenant governor. As you might have heard, there is little love between Burton and Davis, and they have made this district their proxy war.

Davis-backed Hall (1/24: $101,000 on hand) appears to have the best of the endorsement war: local Congressmen Bob Filner and Susan Davis, former Assembly Speaker Hertzberg, former Senators Dede Al-

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pert and Lucy Killea, and a slew of labor backers. Cohelan reported just $516.00 on hand January 24, a number nobody takes seriously. This race is at the top of the trail lawyers', and John Burton's, "must win" lists. Those two funding sources can raise any amount they think Cohelan needs. The bad blood is flowing, and the ugly mail has started to fly.

But Cohelan and Hall are not alone in this race, and their status as pawns in a Sacramento-based *jihad* could end up electing the third serious Democrat candidate: San Diego Councilman George Stevens. Stevens showed $70,000 on his January 24 report and is the only candidate local voters have actually ever voted for. He has tried to stay above the fray and contrast his positive message with the Hall/Cohelan imbroglio. A recent survey done for the GOP indicates this strategy is paying off. Stevens approached 30 percent, while Cohelan and Hall were in the low single digits. Two other Democrats, Kathleen McIntosh and Maxine Sherard, appear to be second-tier contenders at best.

Stevens is the current favorite, with his solid base support and the splintered primary. But Cohelan and Hall will run out of time before they run out of money, so this race is still in flux. Late contribution reports here ought to be fun to read, if only for their excesses.

Waiting in the wings for the winner of the Democrat contest is Chula Vista's Republican Mayor, Shirley Horton. Although this district has a Democrat hue to it, both Quakenbush and Jones carried it in 1998, and Dave Stirling nearly beat Bill Lockyer here. And Bush ran within 7 points of Gore. That means Horton will be a serious contender in the fall no matter which Democrat she faces. In the meantime, she is happy to hold the Democrats' coats while they fight, and hope the eventual winner emerges scarred, with the Democrat infrastructure undermined by hard feelings all around, circumstances that could well prevail. This will be a district to watch in the fall. **LEANS DEMOCRAT**

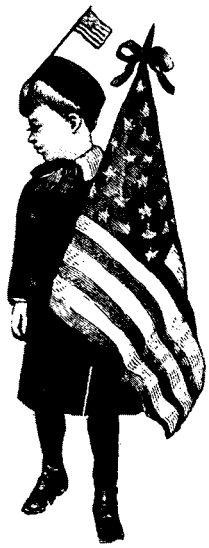
DISTRICT 79 *Reg: D 47%; R 30%; DS 15%*

Incumbent: Juan Vargas (D) Geography: San Diego County's far southern coast to the Mexican border.

With a Latino voting base of 40 percent, this district provides a comfortable home for Juan Vargas. Republican Mark Fast won't be nearly fast enough to upset that. **SAFE DEMOCRAT**

DISTRICT 80 *Reg: D 47%; R 35%; DS 13%*

Incumbent: Open Seat — Dave Kelly (R) termed out. Geography: Imperial County, Riverside County's east portion.



The 80th is one of the state's few districts promising interesting contests in both primary and general elections. The mapmakers took advantage of Dave Kelley's retirement to make this district considerably more Democrat and Hispanic.

The Democrat primary features two serious candidates: Former Coachella School Board member Joey Acuna, Jr., and Cathedral City Councilman Gregory Pettis. Acuna starts with a name I.D. advantage, having run in a large part of this district twice before, once against Kelley and once against Kelley's predecessor Jim Battin. Though under-funded both times, Acuna put up respectable numbers on election day. His January 24 financial report was unavailable, but we may assume the Legislature's Latino Caucus will furnish him sufficient financing to be competitive.

The other top-tier candidate — Gregory Pettis — is openly homosexual. He reported only $14,000 on hand January 24, but local observers believe he can run a well-funded campaign, partly because Assemblymembers Christine Kehoe and John Longville have endorsed him, as have several local labor unions and the Cabazon Band of Mission Indians. Both candidates will almost certainly have much more money available for their campaigns than was shown on available finance reports. The late contribution filings will indicate if either will be able to outspend the other significantly. Third Democrat Ramon Saucedo's campaign shows scant signs of life.

Republicans are also waging a spirited contest, with overtones of a Kelley/Battin turf war. Bonnie Garcia, a legislative aide to Senator Jim Battin, has the senator's strong support. La Quinta Mayor John Pena was recruited to run by outgoing incumbent Dave Kelley, who continues to support him strongly. Neither candidate's January 24 finance report was available. Few issue disagreements divide them. Returning incumbent Battin probably has more opportunities to raise funds for Garcia than lame duck Kelley has for Pena.

Both March winners will be in for a tough fall race. This district is competitive for both parties; both parties will target their nominee. **TOSS-UP**

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Choosing a future

California Senate

BY WILLIAM E. SARACINO
MEMBER, *CPR* EDITORIAL BOARD

DISTRICT 2 *Registration: D 50%; R 29%; DS 14%*

Incumbent: Wes Chesbro (D); Geography: All or part of Humboldt, Lake, Mendocino, Napa, Solano & Sonoma counties.

Republicans used to be able to hold their own — and occasionally win — in these north coast and wine country domains. Don Clausen represented the area in Congress throughout the '60s and '70s, while Don Sebastiani and Bev Hansen were sent to the Assembly through the '80s. No longer. This is now solid Democrat territory. Incumbent Senator Wes Chesbro fits the district's self-conscious liberalism and hyper-environmentalism. Republican wine-family scion John Jordan spent more than $2 million against Chesbro in a well run 1998 campaign and managed only 42 percent of the vote. No matter which Republican — Stuart Posselt, Dennis Purification or Peggy Redfearn — wins the primary. Chesbro will cruise to an easy re-election. He can spend his time and money angling for a leadership position in the Democrat caucus.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 4 *Reg: R 45%; D 36%; DS 13%*

Incumbent: Open Seat — Maurice Johannessen (R) termed out. Geography: All or parts of Butte, Colusa, Del Norte, Glenn, Nevada, Placer, Shasta, Siskiyou, Sutter, Tehama, Trinity, and Yuba counties.

An Assembly member of each party was unpleasantly surprised by the final map of this district. Democrat Helen Tomson had planned to run, presuming her fellow Democrats would improve her Party's registration a bit over the seat Johannessen won twice. However, as part of the "all incumbents" redistricting plan, John Burton, et.al., were committed to drawing 15 "winnable" Republican districts — this among them. Hence, slavishly loyal Democrat Yolo county was removed, along with any chance of Tomson winning — or even running.

That should have been good news for GOP Assemblyman Dick Dickerson, who thought he was in line for a "free ride" through the primary. And indeed he was, until he became one of four Assembly Republicans to vote for Gray Davis's budget last summer, insuring its passage. His fellow Republicans, seeing treachery, made last minute changes to this district's map. Conservative-voting Yuba and Del Norte counties, and heavily Republican precincts in Placer and Nevada county, were added expressly to aid Assemblyman Sam Aanestad, who promptly announced his candidacy. The race has been a classic barn-burner from day one.

This district is a top priority for the GOP's conservative infrastructure and

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for anti-tax groups, so Aanestad can count on support from statewide sources. Seventy-seven percent of current Republican legislators have endorsed Aanestad, making clear their feelings about Dickerson. Republican primary voters here tend to be conservative in general, but vociferously anti-tax in particular, so Aanestad has been making hay with Dickerson's budget vote. Additionally, Aanestad started the year leading Dickerson by more than a $100,000 in available cash, and recent reports indicate his lead has widened, making Aanestad the favorite at this point.

But Dickerson is no push-over, and can probably count on covert help from unions and other Democrat sources. CCPOA is rumored to be preparing a major "independent expenditure" effort for him. He represented slightly more of the Senate District in the Assembly (46 percent) than has Aanestad (40 percent). While much more willing to "accommodate" Capitol Democrats than the conservative Aanestad, Dickerson has voted carefully by and large. His Davis budget vote was a rare slip.

Twelfth Senate District GOP primary voters are vociferously anti-tax, so Aanestad has been making hay with Dickerson's budget vote.

This is one of the few areas of the state that has been tilting toward the GOP the last few years. This district's primary, with the 34th S.D., are two key races in determining the Senate GOP caucus's conservative/liberal make-up next year. Democrat candidate Marianne Bopp Smith is nowhere in this picture.

SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 6 *Reg: D 51%; R 30%; DS 14%*

Incumbent: Deborah Ortiz (D) Geography: The entire cities of Citrus Heights & Sacramento; part of the city of Elk Grove and several communities in unincorporated parts of Sacramento County.

My how time flies. Four years ago the Quackenbush name was actually an asset. In 1998 Chris Quackenbush, wife of then-Insurance Commissioner Chuck, gave then-Assemblywoman Ortiz a tough run for this seat. Also, at that time, the district contained more north and east Sacramento county Republican voting precincts — Barbara Alby country.

Senator Ortiz has no such worries this year. The Albyesque conservative voters were lopped off and given to Senator Rico Oller, who gladly accepted them. Ortiz shows more than $500,000 cash on hand, with a hard to explain $150,000 transfer from the California Democrat Party. She certainly didn't need the bucks to fight Republican sacrificial lamb Ted Adams. Whatever she uses the money for, you can bet it won't be for fighting Adams.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 8 *Reg: D 53%; R 22%; DS 21%*

Incumbent: Jackie Speier (D) Geography: Western & Southern San Francisco and all but the southeastern portion of San Mateo county.

Republicans are 2,929 votes away from slipping behind Decline-To-State as a political force in this district. Dan Lungren received 25 percent in 1998. The best GOP showing of the last eight years was Bill Jones' 34 percent in 1998. 'Nuff said. Jackie Speier will be back, though, presumably, Republican hopefuls Dennis Zell and Marco Meza would disagree with us — at least on the record.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 10 *Reg: D 51%; R 27%; DS 18%*

Incumbent: Liz Figueroa (D) Geography: Southern Alameda and northeastern Santa Clara county.

George Bush I was president the last time any Republican candidate received more than 40 percent of the vote in the precincts now making up the 10th Senate district. Republican James Gunther won't break that string this year. Figueroa's biggest worry is what to run for when term limits oust her in 2006.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 12 *Reg: D 46%; R 39%; DS 11%*

Incumbent: Open Seat — Dick Monteith (R), termed out. Geography: Madera, Merced, Monterey, San Benito, and Stanislaus counties.

This is one of the state's few competitive districts for both parties. They've each obliged election watchers with interesting primaries. The GOP can win this district, but it would have been relatively safe for its initially intended occupant: Democrat Assemblyman Dennis Cardoza. But Cardoza chose to oppose Gary Condit for Congress, a decision that threw the 12th S.D. wide open.

The favorite by a wide margin in the primary, and a slim one in the general, is former Assemblyman Rusty Areias. Though once a member with Condit of the Assembly's "Gang of Five," Areias can count on support from the Sacramento Democrat old-boy network, including the union infrastructure. Areias

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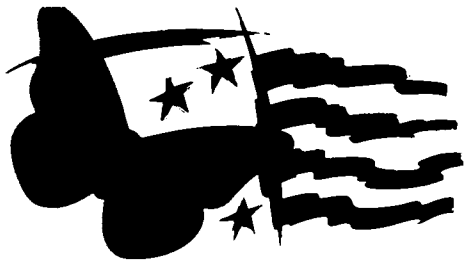

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barely escaped what could have been a bruising primary challenge from Merced County Chief Deputy District Attorney Larry Morse. He had an impressive list of endorsements, including former state Senator George Zenovich, former Assemblyman Sal Canella, Merced County Sheriff Gary Carlson, Modesto Mayor Carmen Sabatino, and Merced D.A. Gordon Spencer. He would have been a well-financed, aggressive campaigner with the advantage of having nurtured the local grass roots while Areias was away in Sacramento. But, quite literally at the last minute Morse dropped out. It is widely assumed Democrat Senate Leader John Burton made Morse an offer he couldn't refuse: stand down and have a political future, or run in the primary, be crushed, and remain forever on our Enemies List. Anyway, for whatever reason, Morse is out. Stanislaus County attorney and chairman of the local Latino Political Action Committee Armando Flores is also running, though given little chance to threaten Areias as Morse could have.

The GOP contest is a more straightforward, two-man contest between former Assemblyman Peter Frusetta and Salinas businessman Jeff Denham. Frusetta was thrice narrowly elected to the Assembly from a heavily Democrat district centered in the San Benito portion of the current Senate district. His reputation as politically conservative and personally quirky apparently remains intact. He insisted to the GOP leadership that he had no interest in the seat, then filed literally at the last minute. Next day, he asked the registrar for his filing fee back, though it was too late. The $200,000 he gave his campaign is virtually the only money he raised, and observers question his desire to spend it. If he does, his residual name I.D. could put him in the November run-off.

The other GOP candidate is Jeff Denham, a local farmer & businessman. Denham ran to succeed the termed-out Frusetta in 2000, and came within a whisker of winning. The GOP leadership sees him as a stronger November candidate than the mercurial Frusetta. Senators Ross Johnson, Jim Battin, Pete Knight, and Bill Morrow have endorsed Denham, and others are helping quietly behind the scenes. Joey Wright, an aid to Congressman John Doolittle, withdrew as a candidate in late January and endorsed Denham. Given sufficient resources, the energetic Denham should contrast well with the Hamlet-like, often flustered Frusetta.

Out of this mélange in both parties will come one of November's few truly competitive races, so this district will be fun to watch before and after March.

TWO-PARTY TOSS-UP

DISTRICT 14 *Reg: R 49%; D 37%; DS 10%*

Incumbent: Chuck Poochigian (R). Geography: The central valley counties of Fresno, Madera, Mariposa, San Joaquin, Stanislaus and Tuolumne.

Just as Republicans were once competitive on the north coast, Democrats were once competitive in agricultural districts like this one. No longer. The key indicator is less George Bush's 60 percent in 2000 than Dan Lungren's 56 percent in 1998. Lungren led a clean sweep for GOP statewide candidates in this district. Chuck Poochigan would be unassailable, even if Democrats had bothered to field a candidate.

SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 16 *Reg: D 52%; R 34%; DS 10%*

Incumbent: Open Seat — Jim Costa (D) termed out. Geography: The western San Joaquin Valley, including parts of the counties of Fresno, Kern, Kings and Tulare.

This kind of registration split used to put a district "in play." In some parts of the state it still does, but not here, not in this year. The district's 59 percent Latino voting age population translates into about 40 percent of registered voters. Republicans can appeal to them on certain social issues — in 2000, for instance, Proposition 22 (Defense of Marriage) received 80 percent of the statewide Hispanic vote and 74 percent of the vote in this district. But that dynamic will not be in play here. The Democrat nominee will be popular Latino Assemblyman Dean Florez, an able campaigner and strong fund-raiser, eliminating any GOP chance to court conservative Hispanics. Florez will be more than strong enough to over-power Republican nominee Blair Knox.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 18 *Reg: R 50%; D 34%; DS 12%*

Incumbent: Open Seat — Jack O'Connell (D) termed out. Geography: Eastern San Joaquin Valley counties of Tulare, Kern, and San Bernardino.

Under Jack O'Connell, this district was wholly within Santa Barbara and Ventura counties. Democrat Assemblywoman Hannah Beth Jackson planned to run, but, like north-coast colleague Helen Tomson, Jackson fell victim to the redistricting promise of 15 GOP Senate seats. Voilà, a safe Democrat coastal seat became safe Republican. How safe? Lungren beat Davis by 17 points; Bush beat Gore by 20. The 18th anchors an emerging Republican Central Valley dominance from Bakersfield to Oregon.

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Assemblyman Roy Ashburn won't breathe hard to sail into the Senate; no Democrat is on the ballot.

SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 20 *Reg: D 55%; R 25%; DS 14%*

Incumbent: Richard Alarcon (D). Geography: Central and eastern San Fernando Valley in L.A. County.

One reason the Central Valley is trending Republican is GOP migration there from districts like this. In recent memory, parts of this district elected Congresswoman Bobbi Fiedler, Senator Cathy Wright, and Assemblywoman Marian LaFollette. The voters that elected them moved north of the Grapevine, replaced by middle-class Hispanics. Conservative socially (71 percent for Prop. 22 in 2000), but ethnically loyal (58 percent for Antonio Villaraigosa for L.A. mayor), they will return Alarcon to the Senate by a wide margin.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 22 *Reg: D 62%; R 18%; DS 15%*

Incumbent: Open Seat — Richard Polanco (D) termed out. Geography: Southwestern San Gabriel Valley; parts of northeast and central L.A.

A classic, Phil Burtonesque Rorschach test-shaped district, the 22nd was drawn specifically for Assemblyman Gil Cedillo. Its bizarre lines appear to have done their job: Cedillo is unopposed in March and November.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DiSTRICT 24 *Reg: D 57%; R 24%; DS 15%*

Incumbent: Gloria Romero (D). Geography: Southwestern San Gabriel Valley, all of the city of East Los Angeles, the Highland Park and El Sereno portions of Los Angeles.

Bush pulled all of 29 percent here, which was two points better than Lungren in '98. Senator Gloria Romero, elected in a special election last March, can expect a long Senate stay. She is not termed out until 2010. Republican candidate Vince House will not be "in the House" next December.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 26 *Reg: D 68%; R 13%; DS 14%*

Incumbent: Kevin Murray (D). Geography: Culver City, part of Beverly Hills, the Crenshaw, Baldwin Hills, and Hollywood portions of Los Angeles.

The big question about this district was not November, but March. With Latino voting age population of 32 percent and black voting age population of 28 percent, a divisive, ethnic-based primary was possible here. Democrat powers — including legislative Hispanics — moved mightily to avoid that, guaranteeing Senator Murray's return to Sacramento for a last term.

Republican Kathy Williamson will be lucky to hit 20 percent in November.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 28 *Reg: D 49%; R 30%; DS 16%*

Incumbent: Deborah Bowen (D). Geography: Los Angeles County's South Bay coast; the inland cities of Lomita and Torrance.

Once upon a time, this part of Los Angeles was a GOP bailiwick — its representatives ranging from thoroughly moderate Senator Bob Beverly to thoroughly un-moderate Congressman Bob Dornan. The inexorable demographic changes in Los Angeles County tended to affect the beach cities later than most, but in 1998 it finally tipped the partisan balance here decisively. By then, Dornan had escaped to Orange County's friendlier climes, Beverly was termed out of office, and Assemblywoman Deborah Bowen's Senate election completed a Democrat sweep of local legislative seats. She should have no trouble keeping the new district — decidedly more Democrat than the old — in her Party's column. Republicans Jo Ann Hill and Amera Wildflower Rizk will vie for the chance to lose in November.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 30 *Reg: D 59%; R 25%; DS 12%*

Incumbent: Martha Escutia (D). Geography: Southeastern L.A. County.

This is one of California's few legislative seats with an outright Latino majority of registered voters. Senator Martha Escutia also represented this part of L.A. in the Assembly, and will easily return to Sacramento for her last term. Republican John Robertson received 23 percent against Escutia in '98. He will do well to equal GOP registration of 25 percent this fall.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 32 *Reg: D 55%; R 30%; DS 11%*

Incumbent: Nell Soto (D). Geography: Most of San Bernardino and Colton; Fontana. Montclair, Ontario, and Rialto in San Bernardino County and all of Pomona in L.A. County.

Assemblywoman Nell Soto was elected to the Senate here in March 2000 following then-Senator Joe Baca's election to Congress. Though the district lines were then less Democrat-friendly then now, and despite a well financed GOP effort, Soto won fairly easily.

Democrats ended any chance of a GOP re-try against Soto, drawing a loyal Democrat district more than half Hispanic in voting age population. Republican Ken Robertson will no doubt work hard in the GOP's remaining reliable precincts, but won't seriously press Soto.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

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DISTRICT 34 *Reg: D 46%; R 36%; DS 13%*

Incumbent: Joe Dunn (D). Geography: Central Orange County.

Senator Dunn, elected narrowly (2,000 votes) in 1998, defeated incumbent Republican Rob Hurtt on a tidal wave of trial lawyer dollars in what became a nasty race at the end. Without the duel Dan Lungren/Dornan top-of-the-ticket drag that year, Hurtt likely would have won anyway. The new district is slightly more Hispanic than the old, but not much more Democrat. Still, Dunn appears to be in decent shape for November. Tort lawyers and other Democrat interests continue their largesse and Dunn has more than $500,000 in the kitty. As in '98, Dunn will raise whatever he thinks necessary. How much that is depends on the case Republican Araceli Gonzalez makes to the GOP establishment and others. About a third of the district's voters are Latino, and if Gonzalez starts making inroads there, GOP interest could quickly go from tepid to warm. Dunn is the likely winner, but if Bush is riding high in November, and the Davis campaign stumbles, this district could be in play. **LIKELY DEMOCRAT**

If Hollingsworth raises enough to inform GOP primary voters of his differences with Zettel, he wins. If not, Zettel wins.

DISTRICT 36 *Reg: R 50%; D 30%; DS 15%*

Incumbent: Open Seat — Ray Haynes (R) termed out. Geography: Southwest Riverside County, inland San Diego County; a small portion of San Diego.

The southern version of the S.D. 4 Aanestad/Dickerson battle, with Assemblyman Dennis Hollingsworth carrying the conservative banner and Assemblywoman Charlene Zettel the liberal. If anything, the Hollingsworth/Zettel contrast is more pronounced. Zettel's strength is fund raising. On 12/31 she had a 10-to-1 cash-on-hand advantage. Her weakness lies in ideology, which is considerably to the left of the typical GOP voter here. Zettel's votes and views, fairly described as favoring abortion, higher taxes, more government spending, and more gun control, match up poorly with the Republican base vote. Various parts of this district have elected conservatives Ray Haynes, Steve Baldwin, Jay LaSuer, and Bruce Thompson. Zettel is trying to obfuscate her record — she cannot win the primary without doing so. Her success depends on Hollingsworth's fund raising — or lack thereof.

Hollingsworth fits the district's Republicans much better than Zettel. His pro-life, pro-gun, anti-tax voting record and views are the opposite of hers. He has enthusiastic support from outgoing Senator Haynes and endorsements from local Representatives Darrell Issa and Mary Bono. Statewide taxpayer and pro-gun groups have made this race a top priority. And he has the advantage of not having to camouflage his views. The question is funding. If Hollingsworth raises enough to inform GOP primary voters of his differences with Zettel, he wins. If not, Zettel wins. Few elections come down as simply as that. This one does. For GOP conservatives and liberals, the stakes are enormous. With S.D. 4, the outcome here will determine the Senate GOP caucus's political direction.

Neither Democrat — Phillip Hanneman or Bill Reedy — will be a factor in November. **SAFE REPUBLICAN**

DISTRICT 38 *Reg: R 48%; D 30%; DS 17%*

Incumbent: Bill Morrow (R). Geography: Southern Orange and northern San Diego county coasts.

Bush beat Gore here by 17 points; Lungren posted an 11-point win. Sure winner Senator Bill Morrow can spend the campaign dreaming of his favorite diversions: fishing and camping.

SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 40 *Reg: D 48%; R 31%; DS 15%*

Incumbent: OPEN SEAT — Steve Peace (D) termed out. Geography: All of Imperial County, a slice of southeast Riverside County, San Diego County cities on the U.S./Mexican border, and San Diego's southern portions.

This district could have seen a hot and heavy Democrat primary. But Assemblymen Howard Wayne and Juan Vargas both passed on the race, leaving former Assemblywoman Denise Moreno Ducheny a clear path to the nomination, and almost as clear a shot at November. The best recent Republican showings here are Chuck Quakenbush's 2-point and Bill Jones' 4-point losses in 1998. Ducheny, a surprise winner in her first Assembly primary election, is a low-key but effective campaigner. She won primary and general elections easily until termed out in 2000. The district's pockets of GOP strength should allow Republican Michael Giorgino to run a respectable race, but "victory" for him will be defined as more than 40 percent of the vote. **SAFE DEMOCRAT**

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Choosing a future

U.S. Congress

BY WILLIAM E. SARACINO
MEMBER, *CPR* EDITORIAL BOARD

DISTRICT 1 *Reg: D 47%; R 31%; DS 15%*

Incumbent: Mike Thompson (D) Geography: All of the counties of Del Norte, Humboldt, Lake, Mendocino, Napa, some of Sonoma and part of Yolo County.

Former state Senator Mike Thompson has built himself a loyal constituency in this north coast district, so he really didn't need the extra Democrat registration the map-makers gave him. He will breeze to another term, but it will be interesting to see if his increased Democrat registration edge prompts him to move his voting record to the left next session. The Republican candidate is Lawrence Wiesner.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 2 *Reg: R 46%; D 37%; DS 12%*

Incumbent: Wally Herger (R) Geography: All of Butte, Colusa, Glenn, Shasta, Siskiyou, Sutter, Tehama, Trinity, and Yuba counties.

District 2 is more or less the entire Sacramento Valley — the state's Central Valley from just north of Sacramento to the Oregon border. Even if it weren't trending Republican, former Assemblyman Wally Herger would continue to be a good fit here. Herger is a solid conservative (he routinely scores 90 percent-plus on virtually every conservative groups scorecard) and very personable. He is still widely considered a local boy who made good. How Republican is this district becoming? Herger's two primary opponents both accuse him of being insufficiently conservative for the district. Democrat Mike Johnson will have no better luck in November against Herger then these two will in March.

SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 3 *Reg: R 44%; D 39%; DS 13%*

Incumbent: Doug Ose (R) Geography: Alpine, Amador, Calaveras, Sacramento, and Solano counties.

District 3 takes in the eastern half of Sacramento County and all of the foothill counties of Alpine and Calaveras. Ose won easily his first two tries. He will be in even better shape now following the addition of some especially loyal Re-

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William F. Buckley in the National Review

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publican voters in the foothills — folks used to giving John Doolittle huge margins. Democrat Howard Beeman is likely to run behind Democrat registration in November.

SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 4 *Reg: R 47%; D 34%; DS 14%*

Incumbent: John Doolittle (R) Geography: All of El Dorado, Lassen, Modoc, Nevada, Placer, Plumas, and Sierra counties, and the north eastern part of Sacramento County.

If you drew a line from Folsom Lake to Lake Tahoe, and then drew lines due north from each lake to the Oregon border, you would reasonably approximate this reconfigured district. Though the boundaries have changed, the conservative political slant of the residents should fit John Doolittle just fine. The district has fewer Democrats than any north of Orange County, and many of those Democrats are conservative, urban refugees.

Had map-makers not needed loyal Democrats to bolster Ellen Taucher and defeat Gary Condit, this seat might be much more challenging for Pombo.

The GOP's internecine warfare exists here in the form of a liberal challenger — Bill Kirby — facing Doolittle in the primary. But Doolittle will brush Kirby aside as easily he will Democrat Mark Norberg in November.

SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 5 *Reg: D 55%; R 26%; DS 14%*

Incumbent: Robert Matusi (D) Geography: Most of Sacramento County.

With the Republican voting precincts in the north and east of Sacramento parceled out to Doug Ose or John Doolittle, Bob Matsui will continue his undefeated streak. Republican Richard Frankhuizen would do well to win a quarter of the vote.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 6 *Reg: D 51%; R 28%; DS 15%*

Incumbent: Lynn Woolsey (D) Geography: All of Marin and most of Sonoma County.

Home turf of American Taliban John Walker, the few Republicans here are politically to the left of most Democrats anywhere else in the country. Lynn Woolsey faithfully represents her constituents' views and will breeze back into Congress. Republican Paul Erickson's chance of getting elected about equals his namesake's, Lief, of being credited with discovering America.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 7 *Reg: D 57%; R 23%; DS 12%*

Incumbent: George Miller (D) Geography: Northern Contra Costa and southern Solano counties.

The northern and southern halves of this district are separated by the Carquinez Straits. They are made "contiguous" by the bridge of the same name. That's all there is to make this district interesting. George Miller will continue a long family tradition by easily winning election from this turf. The Republican candidate is George Hargrave.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 8 *Reg: D 57%; R 13%; DS 24%*

Incumbent: Nancy Pelosi (D) Geography: All but the southwest portion of San Francisco.

Republicans in this district should be given a "Custer's Last Stand" award — and then moved, free of charge, to Orange County. Obviously, they are a hearty lot.

Nancy Pelosi will spend no time worrying about whether Michael German or John Jenkel carries the GOP banner in November. She will concentrate on her duties as a newly-elected member of the Democrats'

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top House leadership: helping elect more Democrats to the House.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 9 *Reg: D 64%; R 12%; DS 16%*

Incumbent: Barbara Lee (D) Geography: The Alameda County cities of Oakland, Berkeley, and Castro Valley.

Barbara Lee will pay no price for her "let's ask 'pretty please' for Osama Bin Laden's surrender instead of using military force" vote here, one of the nation's most self-consciously far-left congressional districts. Neither Republican Hector Reyna nor Jerald Udinsky will make a dent in her margin come November.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 10 *Reg: D 46%; R 35%; DS 13%*

Incumbent: Ellen Tauscher (D) Geography: Parts of Contra Costa, Alameda, Sacramento, and Solano counties.

It turns out Ellen Tauscher was not punished for being the only California Democrat not to support Nancy Pelosi in internal Democrat caucus elections. This meandering district makes it unlikely that any challenger would start with a sizable base. And she doesn't even have to think about that this year — no Republican is on the ballot to oppose her.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 11 *Reg: R 46%; D 39%; DS 10%*

Incumbent: Richard Pombo (R) Geography: Most of San Joaquin County, and parts of Alameda, Contra Costa and Santa Clara counties.

Had Democrat map-makers not needed loyal Democrats to bolster Ellen Taucher and defeat Gary Condit, this seat might be much more challenging for Pombo. Though the registration looks close at first glance, Pombo benefits from conservative Democrats in the Central Valley portion of the district, and a loyal Republican base throughout. George Bush beat Al Gore here by 8 points, running 10 percent ahead of his statewide showing. Democrat Elaine Shaw will no doubt mount a vigorous challenge, but will be lucky to come within 10 points of the hard-charging Pombo.

SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 12 *Reg: D 52%; R 24%; DS 19%*

Incumbent: Tom Lantos (D) Geography: South west San Francisco and the northern half of San Mateo County.

Al Gore defeated George Bush in the district by 38 points. Republican Michael Moloney won't do as well as the president against local institution Tom Lantos.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 13 *Reg: D 54%; R 24%; DS 17%*

Incumbent: Fortney Stark (D) Geography: All but the far northern part of Alameda County.

Approaching the 30-year mark, Pete Stark need worry only about how many more anniversaries he wants to celebrate in Congress. Neither Republican Syed Mahmood nor any other pachyderm will force involuntary retirement on Stark.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 14 *Reg: D 46%; R 31% DS 18%*

Incumbent: Anna Eshoo (D) Geography: Southern San Mateo, eastern Santa Clara, and northern Santa Cruz counties.

The answer to the question, "Listeners usually say 'Gesundheit' upon hearing which Congresswoman's name?", Anna Eshoo is a good fit for this district's Silicon Valley and coastal Santa Cruz liberalism. The registration statistics are misleading because the Republican base vote has a high "cross-over" component. Republican Joseph Nixon will not reverse that trend.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 15 *Reg: D 45%; R 32%; DS 19%*

Incumbent: Mike Honda (D) Geography: the cities of Gilroy, San Jose, Santa Clara, and Milpitas, along with unincorporated areas of Santa Clara County.

This district has the largest Asian population in the

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state, and its voters are by and large center to center-left. As such, Mike Honda fits in well. Were Honda not in the picture, or perhaps even with an attractive GOP Asian nominee, this district could be in play in the future. Unfortunately for Republican Linda Hermann, the future is not now.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 16 *Reg: D 50%; R 28%; DS 18%*

Incumbent: Zoe Lofgren (D) Geography: Entirely within the city of San Jose.

The aging, gritty center of San Jose. Al Gore beat George Bush here by 30 points. Zoe Lofgren will probably have a bigger margin than that over Republican Douglas McNea.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 17 *Reg: D 50%; R 29% DS 15%*

Incumbent: Sam Farr (D) Geography: Southern Santa Cruz County and all of Monterey and San Benito counties.

Geographically a beautiful district, this is a politically beautiful district for Sam Farr. Republican Clint Engler will do nothing to sully that picture in November.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 18 *Reg: D 53%; R 35%; DS 9%*

Incumbent: Gary Condit (D) Geography: All of Merced County, most of Stanislaus, and parts of Fresno, San Joaquin, and Madera counties.

Gary Condit is down but not out. In spite of the Democrat establishment's Herculean efforts to adulterate his loyal Central Valley base, he is an adept, wiley campaigner and could eke out a plurality victory in this six-way Democrat primary. Assemblyman Dennis Cardoza carries the banner for the Party apparatus, with the support of many formerly staunch Condit backers and most elected Democrats who have taken a position.

The new district lines eliminated part of Condit's base in the area's conservative Democrat farmlands. Liberal precincts from downtown Stockton have been added. Cardoza is determined to win the primary, and is pulling out all the stops to defeat Condit. This is a battle of two media-dubbed "moderate" Democrats in a district of divergent interests, from urban Stockton to rural Merced. Though some commentators predict a Cardoza win, the Democrat primary rates as a toss-up — Condit could win in a squeaker.

On the Republican side, Dick Monteith, the moderate Senator who voted for Governor Davis's budget last summer when Republican leaders were trying to hold the line on taxes, currently represents the bulk of the district in the state Senate. Monteith is sometimes pro-life, but not a movement conservative. Three-term Assemblyman George House has dropped out of the race, though his name will still be on the ballot. First-term Modesto Councilman Bill Conrad is a possible contender who boasts a larger grassroots organization than Monteith. A West Point graduate and 25-year army veteran who now serves in the California Air National Guard, he was called up for active duty for one month after 9/11. Conrad is a strong candidate on paper. The question is whether he can raise the funds necessary to beat Monteith. The edge goes to Monteith to win, but an upset is possible if the Senator tries to coast on his high name ID without active campaigning.

Conventional wisdom calls for a Cardoza vs. Monteith November contest. Don't mortgage the house on it. This will be a mean, nasty, close contest to the end. Any of the candidates mentioned above could win. The RNCC is fighting for this seat and is willing to put money into increased voter registration. It shows. Some veteran observers have moved the district from "Leans Democrat" to "Battleground" because of rising GOP registration in Merced County, which comprises a third of the district and which George W. Bush won handily. Finally, overlapping interests make this one of the state's hottest regions: a competitive Senate race to replace Monteith (SD 12), two high-profile Assembly races (the 26th and the 17th), and the likelihood that the winners here will retain control for the next decade.

The only certainty is that there will be blood in the streets and hard feelings abroad on March 6, making for a difficult but perhaps highly entertaining fall campaign.

LEANS DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 19 *Reg: R 46%; D 40%, DS 11%*

Incumbent: George Radanovich (R) Geography: Fresno, Madera, Stanislaus, and Mariposa counties.

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Don't let the close registration figures scare you, they certainly won't scare George Radanovich. This Central Valley district is full of conservative Democrats. George Bush beat Al Gore here by 18 percent. Radanovich will dispatch Democrat John Veen by at least as much.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 20 *Reg: D 53%; R 33%; DS 10%*

Incumbent: Cal Dooley (D) Geography: Fresno, Kern, and Kings counties.

Dooley's party-line voting record, which caused him tough races in the past, rewarded him at map-making time with a much stronger Democrat district. He need not worry about Republicans Ricky Martin or Andre Minuth.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 21 *Reg: R 47%; D 39%; DS 11%*

Incumbent: Open Seat — Geography: Most of Fresno and all of Tulare County.

Some observers have moved the district from 'Leans Democrat' to 'Battleground' because of rising GOP registration in Merced County, which George W. Bush won handily.

This new Republican seat in what is quickly becoming solid GOP turf has a real dog-fight in the Republican primary. Assemblyman Mike Briggs, former Fresno Mayor Jim Patterson, and dairy farmer Devin Nunes are the top tier pachyderm candidates.

As a conservative incumbent office holder, Briggs would normally have an advantage. However, he dissipated much of that political capital by being one of four GOP Assemblymen to vote last summer for Governor Davis's budget — in effect a vote for a tax increase. This has cost Briggs dearly, giving Patterson and Nunes an opening.

Patterson, a conservative easily elected twice as mayor of Fresno — a Democrat city — would logically be the main beneficiary of Brigg's budget hara-kiri. However he has been lagging in fund raising, making Nunes the current flavor of the day. Besides heavy support from institutional agriculture, important in this Central Valley seat, Nunes has endorsements from a GOP political odd couple — conservative Congressman Richard Pombo and moderate Congressman Bill Thomas.

Naming a clear-cut favorite is impossible in this primary, a situation that could last up to election day. All three candidates have strong local bases of support, all three are pounding the pavement, and all three remain capable of putting on a last minute sprint — with the help of "independent expenditures" — that could put them well out in front of the other two. The contest could come down to who has the best "get out the vote" operation on election day, and be decided by a few hundred votes. Watch the late contribution reports for straws in the wind, and expect to have to stay up late on election night to find out the winner. Whoever that winner is can then relax — Democrat David LaPere providing no cause for worry.

SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 22 *Reg: R 51%; D 32%; DS 11%*

Incumbent: Bill Thomas (R) Geography: Most of Kern and San Luis Obispo counties and part of the Antelope Valley in Los Angeles County.

Thomas won't need to divide his attention from his internal Party battles to concern himself with Democrat Jaime Corvera.

SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 23 *Reg: D 45%; R 32%; DS 16%*

Incumbent Lois Capps (D) Geography: A thin slice of coast communities in San Luis Obispo, Santa Barbara, and Ventura counties.

This could be called the Highway 1 district. It rarely ventures further inland that that scenic thoroughfare.

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And it seems ready-made for Lois Capps, whether Republican Don Regan or Beth Rogers wins the primary. Capps, though, is under a self-imposed limit of three terms, meaning she would be "termed out" in 2004. Whether as a vacant district — or one in which Capps runs again if she reneges on her promise to voters — this seat should be in play in 2004.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 24 *Reg: (R) R 46%; D 35%; DS 14%*

Incumbent: Elton Gallegly Geography: Most of inland Santa Barbara and Ventura counties.

Democrats have made several serious runs at Gallegly, but never got within shouting distance. He can now relax in his new, safely Republican district combining conservative Democrats with loyal Republicans. Even Dan Lungren carried it.

SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 25 *Reg: R 45%; D 36%; DS 14%*

Incumbent: Howard "Buck" McKeon (R) Geography: All of Inyo and Mono counties, the high desert portion of San Bernardino County, and an Antelope Valley portion and the Santa Clarita section of Los Angeles County.

Gun-owning, socially conservative Republicans and gun-owning, socially conservative Democrats make Buck McKeon a shoe-in in this district. George Bush beat Al Gore here by 15 points. Neither GOP primary opponent James Aldrich nor Democrat November foe Bob Conaway will come that close to McKeon.

SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 26 *Reg: R 46%; D 35%; DS 14%*

Incumbent: David Dreier (R) Geography: Eastern Los Angeles County and southwestern San Bernardino County.

Under the right circumstances, Democrats could be competitive in this district of aging — and shrinking — Republican registration. But among those "right circumstances" would have to be the absence of David Dreier from the ballot. He will hold this district as long as he wants to, the best efforts of Democrat Marjorie Mikels notwithstanding.

SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 27 *Reg: D 49%; R 32%; DS 14%*

Incumbent: Brad Sherman (D) Geography: The north and west portions of the San Fernando Valley in Los Angeles County.

What do white, non-Hispanic Democrat mapmakers do with heavily Hispanic San Fernando Valley precincts currently represented by white, non-Hispanic Democrat Incumbents? Split them down the middle, giving both Brad Sherman and Howard Berman roughly equal portions, but not enough for either to be endangered by a Latino primary challenge. This district (37 percent Hispanic), along with Berman's 28th, were at the heart of the Hispanic legal challenge to the current redistricting.

Shaped like an upside down horseshoe, this district will be good luck for Sherman this November, although an attractive Hispanic Republican challenger could make things interesting for Sherman in the future. Republican Robert Levy has little chance of doing so this November.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 28 *Reg: D 58%; R 22%; DS 15%*

Incumbent: Howard Berman (D) Geography: The southern and central portions of the San Fernando Valley in Los Angeles County.

While taking more Hispanic voters in the Valley than Brad Sherman (this district is 57 percent Latino), chief map-maker Michael Berman took care of brother Howard. He added enough loyal liberal Democrats in the Santa Monica mountains and Hollywood to insure that Howard will never be seriously challenged, either in a primary or a general election.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 29 *Reg: D 47%; R 34%; DS 16%*

Incumbent: Adam Schiff (D) Geography: The cities of Alhambra, Glendale, Burbank, Monterey Park, Pasadena, and South Pasadena in Los Angeles County.

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in 2000, Adam Schiff can relax. The district shed its most loyal Republican areas and picked up strongly Democrat precincts in Monterey Park and elsewhere. Republican Jim Scileppi will not pull much over registration this November.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 30 *Reg: D 52%; R 28%; DS 16%*

Incumbent: Henry Waxman (D) Geography: The western portion of the city of Los Angeles, all of Beverly Hills, West Hollywood and Santa Monica, and unincorporated portions of Los Angeles County.

Among the wealthiest districts in the state, these precincts will send Henry Waxman back to the House with huge majorities. Neither Democrat primary opponent Kevin Feldman nor Republican Tony Goss will make Waxman worry.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 31 *Reg: D 63%; R 17%; DS 15%*

Incumbent: Xavier Becerra (D) Geography: The northeastern portions of Los Angeles.

The voters in this 70 percent Latino district think Xavier Becerra is *muy simpatico*. Neither Republican candidate, Dino Pantazis or Luis Vega, has any chance to change their opinion.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 32 *Reg: D 55%; R 26%; DS 15%*

Incumbent: Hilda Solis (D) Geography: the southern San Gabriel Valley in Los Angeles County, including the communities of Baldwin Park, El Monte, and West Covina.

Former legislator Hilda Solis has a lifetime sinecure here. Republican Emma Fischbeck is not a factor.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 33 *Reg: D 69%; R 13%. DS 14%*

Incumbent: Diane Watson (D) Geography: All of the city of Culver City and the central portions of the city of Los Angeles.

A slam dunk for Diane Watson. Can Republican Andrew Kim replicate or beat George Bush's 13 percent showing? We'll keep you posted.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 34 *Reg: D 62%; R 21%; DS 13%*

Incumbent: Lucille Roybal-Allard (D) Geography: The eastern and central portions of Los Angeles and the entire cities of Downey and Huntington Park.

Ed Roybal, father of the current incumbent, set down political roots in parts of this district 40 years ago in the state Legislature. Lucille Roybal-Allard has nurtured those roots well, and like her father will be able to stay in Congress as long as she wishes. Republican Wayne Miller will be an asterisk come election day.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 35 *Reg: D 69%; R 14%; DS 11%*

Incumbent: Maxine Waters (D) D 69%; R 14%; DS 11% Geography: The central and western portions of Los Angeles and the entire city of Inglewood.

As full of bombast and leftist ideology as ever, Maxine Waters has represented this territory for almost 20 years now, starting in the state Assembly. She will be able to make it another 20 years without much difficulty. Republican Ross Moen will most certainly be moaning when the votes are counted.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 36 *Reg: D 46%; R 33%; DS 16%*

Incumbent: Jane Harman (D) Geography: The Mar Vista and Venice portions of Los Angeles and all of the cities of El Segundo, Manhattan Beach, Hermosa Beach, and Torrance.

This turf has swung back and forth between the two parties during the past 10 years. Map makers removed heavily Republican Palos Verdes from the new version to give Jane Harman some breathing room. As a vacant seat or in a very good Republican year this district could be in play for the GOP. Harman should breeze to reelection this November, whether the Republicans nominate Gloria Davis or Mark McSpadden.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

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DISTRICT 37 *Reg: D 63%; R 18%; DS 12%*

Incumbent: Juanita Millender-McDonald (D) Geography: Most of the cities of Long Beach, Carson, and Compton, and the "harbor corridor" portion of the city of Los Angeles.

This and Jane Harman's 36th district contain the remnants of Republican Steve Horn's old seat. Juanita McDonald has represented most of it in Congress, and George Bush's 21 percent showing indicates the kind of pressure Republican Oscar Velasco will be able to apply in November.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 38 *Reg: D 61%; R 22%; DS 13%*

Incumbent: Grace Napolitano (D) Geography: The southern San Gabriel Valley cities of Montebello, Norwalk, Pico Rivera, and Pomona.

Though largely reshaped and remade, this district was tailor-made to reelect Grace Napolitano. Despite a primary challenge from Pico Rivera Councilman Gregory Salcido, and the choice in November of Republican Alex Burrola, the voters here will follow the map-makers' script and return Napolitano easily.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

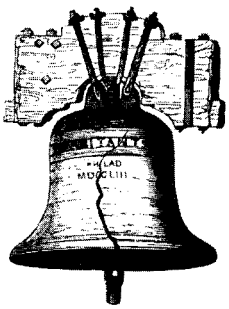
DISTRICT 39 Reg: D 55%; R 28% DS 13%

Incumbent: OPEN Seat — Geography: The southeastern portion of Los Angeles County, including the cities of Cerritos, Lakewood, Lynwood, and South Gate.

This horseshoe-shaped turf is the new district California gained through reapportionment. With an Hispanic population of 61 percent it was designed to send a Latino to Congress. However, the Hispanic voting strength is only around 40 percent and the candidacy of Assemblywoman Sally Havice has thrown a monkey-wrench into the map-makers' ethnic plans. Havice has always run strongly among Hispanics here. Additionally, South Gate Councilman Hector De La Torre and Labor Council leader Linda Sanchez risk splitting the Latino vote. Either of them emerging as the sole challenger to Havice could beat her, but at this point Havice has to be considered the favorite.

Neither Republican Tim Escobar nor Richard Owens will be a factor in November.

SAFE DEMOCRAT



An anomaly among California Democrats, the moderate, pro-gun Baca represents this working class district well.

DISTRICT 40 *Reg: R 48%; D 34%; DS 13%*

Incumbent: Ed Royce (R) Geography: Northern Orange County, including the cities of Anaheim, Fullerton, and Orange.

George Bush beat Al Gore here by 20 points. Ed Royce will do at least as well against Democrat Christina Avalos.

SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 41 *Reg: R 46%; D 36%; DS 12%*

Incumbent: Jerry Lewis (R) Geography: Most of San Bernardino County and the northwest corner of Riverside County.

Long-time legislator and Congressman Jerry Lewis will easily continue to represent this district which is bifurcated between urban Redlands and San Bernardino on the west and large tracts of the Mojave Desert to the east. Democrat Keith Johnson will be hard pressed to match Al Gore's 40 percent here against the popular Lewis.

SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 42 *Reg: R 51%; D 31%; DS 14%*

Incumbent: Gary Miller (R) Geography: Southeast

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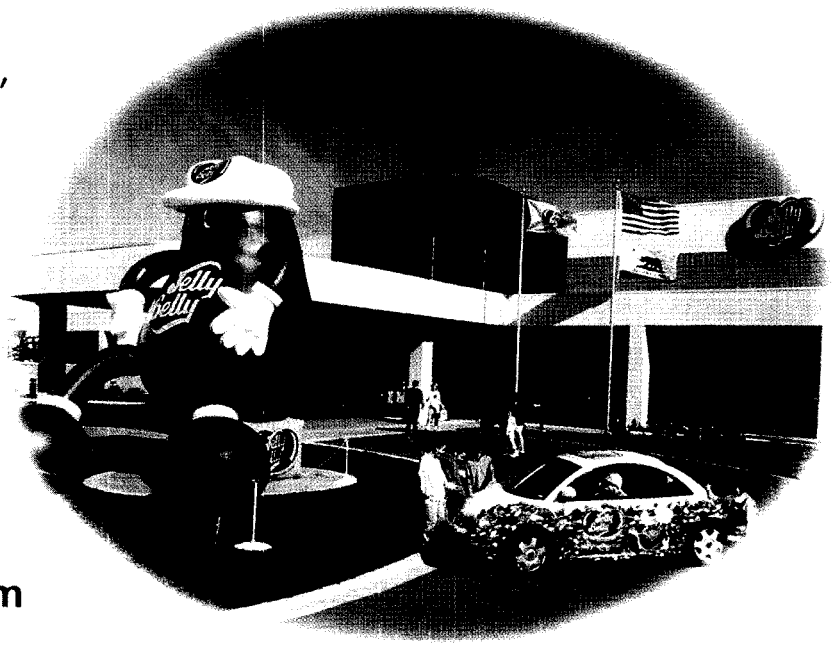

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Los Angeles County and northeast Orange County.

Gary Miller was one of the major beneficiaries of the "all incumbents" redistricting plan. This is rock-solid GOP turf. Democrat Richard Waldron should pull about even with his Party's registration in November.

SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 43 *Reg: D 55%; R 30%; DS 10%*

Incumbent: Joe Baca (D) Geography: The heavily urbanized, western portion of San Bernardino County, including the cities of Fontana, Ontario, and San Bernardino.

An anomaly among California Democrats, the moderate, pro-gun Baca represents this working class district well. Republican Wendy Neighbor will not find the voters in a neighborly mood come November.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 44 *Reg: R 49%; D 34%; DS 11%*

Incumbent: Ken Calvert (R) Geography: Western Riverside and southwestern Orange counties, including the cities of Riverside and San Clemente.

Sometimes-embattled incumbent Ken Calvert is in high clover with this redrawn district that now includes the heavily Republican precincts in the San Clemente area of Orange County. November will provide no blast-off for Democrat Louis Vandenberg.

SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 45 *Reg: R 46%; D 38%; DS 11%*

Incumbent: Mary Bono (R) Geography: Most of Riverside County.

Though the registration numbers appear close, the growth areas of this district are filling up with white Republican refugees from the urban sprawl of Los Angeles and Orange counties. The voters here will say "I got you, babe" to Mary Bono by a wide margin in November. Democrat Elle Kurpiewski might as well throw her lot in with "Gypsies, tramps, and thieves."

SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 46 *Reg: R 48%; D 33%; DS 14%*

Incumbent: Dana Rohrabacher (R) Geography: Coastal and central Orange County and the Palos Verdes portion of Los Angeles County.

It's back to the old stomping — or surfing — territory for Dana Rohrabacher, as he represented Palos Verdes in Congress some years ago. Though Democrat Gerrie Schipske ran a strong race against Steve Horn, almost none of that district is in this one. Rohrabacher will "catch a wave" back to Congress in November.

SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 47 *Reg: D 48%; R 34%; DS 13%*

Incumbent: Loretta Sanchez (D) Geography: Central Orange County.

Having packed every possible loyal Democrat precinct into this district, the map-makers produced a seat that Loretta Sanchez should hold with some ease, barring a huge GOP tide in November. The hopes of Republican Jeff Chavez or Kenneth Valenzuela Fisher rest entirely on such a tide developing.

LIKELY DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 48 *Reg: R 53%; D 28%; DS 15%*

Incumbent: Chris Cox (R) Geography: Southern and coastal Orange County.

George Bush bested Al Gore here by 20 points, Dan Lungren ran 10 percent ahead of Gray Davis, and this district contains fewer Democrats than any other in the state. Chris Cox can adopt the "What, me worry?" slogan and concentrate on moving up the GOP congressional leadership ladder. Democrat John Graham will be lucky to gain a third of the November total.

SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 49 *Reg: R 49%; D 31%; DS 15%*

Incumbent: Darrell Issa (R) Geography: Southwestern Riverside and northwestern San Diego counties.

Smooth sailing for Darrell Issa, as no Democrat signed up for sacrificial lamb duty.

SAFE REPUBLICAN

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DISTRICT 50 *Reg: R 46%; D 313%; DS 17%*

Incumbent: Randy "Duke" Cunningham (R) Geography: The coastal and inland portions of central San Diego County, and a small northern portion of the city of San Diego.

Former fighter pilot Duke Cunningham will not need to activate his early warning radar for any threat to his reelection. Democrat Del Stewart will go down in flames in November.

SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 51 *Reg: D 49%; R 30%; DS 15%*

Incumbent: Bob Filner (D) Geography: All of Imperial County, and the extreme southern portions of San Diego County, including the cities of Chula Vista and San Diego.

Loyal voters in both parties make the November outcome for Bob Filner highly likely to mirror the registration statistics. Republican Willie Durazo or Maria Garcia might make some inroads among Hispanic Democrats, but it won't matter, at least not this year.

SAFE DEMOCRAT

Though the registration numbers appear close, the growth areas of this district are filling up with white Republican refugees from the urban sprawl of Los Angeles and Orange counties.

DISTRICT 52 *Reg: R 46%; D 32%; DS 16%*

Incumbent: Duncan Hunter (R) Geography: Most of inland and eastern San Diego County.

Democrats were siphoned from this district to aid Susan Davis in the 53rd. George Bush's 18-point margin over Al Gore here indicates the strength of the district's GOP base vote. Duncan Hunter should do at least as well against Democrat Peter Moore-Kochlacs.

SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 53 *Reg: D 42%; R 32%; DS 18%*

Incumbent: Susan Davis (D) Geography: The central and northern portions of the city of San Diego.

The map makers threw every loyal Democrat they could find into this district to strengthen Susan Davis. She also stands to benefit from the "Decline To State" voters having broken heavily for Democrat candidates in recent elections. Still, either Republican, entrepreneur Tim Kane or attorney Bill Vandweghe, could give Davis a race in November, depending on the general political tide at the time and the district's location on national GOP target lists.

LIKELY DEMOCRAT

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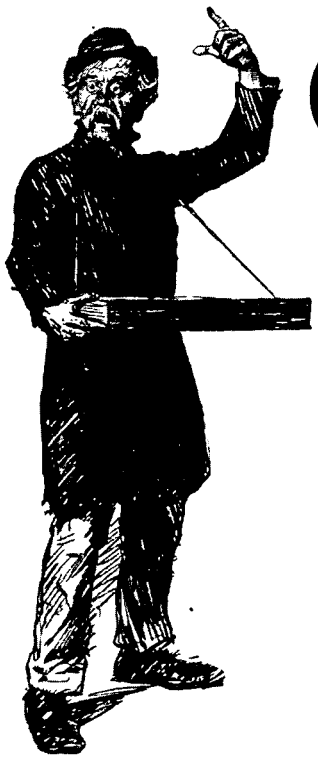

Glory Be, There Goes Another

Incensed about evidence of bias at CBS, liberals smear the messenger.

William E. Saracino

The glory days of Young Americans for Freedom (YAF) were the late '60s and early '70s. One of the things that made YAF effective — and fun — was the firm commitment of more or less all of us never to lose our sense of humor. One manifestation of that was the publication of what was called, only somewhat tongue-in-cheek, *The Extremist Songbook.* Putting our own lyrics to popular tunes, we happily (and polyphonically) skewered the left wherever we found it.

My favorite from the songbook was "Adlai, the Bald Head Com-Symp," sung to the tune of "Rudolph the Red Nosed Reindeer," poking delicious fun at the left's (then) Saint Adlai Stevenson. For you youngsters out there, "com-symp" is short for "communist sympathizer," a popular, and often appropriate, phrase of the times. That song, however, is not relevant to my point here, so I must fall back on my second favorite ditty, "Glory Be, There Goes Another." Put to the music of "Battle Hymn of the Republic," the song made fun of liberals' mania for seeing "extremists" everywhere. The chorus of "Glory Be" ended with a lusty "Glory be there goes another/I'll track down everyone!"

The left's penchant for labeling anyone who disagrees with any point of their dogma an "extremist" has, if possible, become even more pronounced in the past 30 years. *No* dissent is tolerated, period. Dissenters are hounded, vilified and, to the greatest extent possible, discredited. Special wrath is reserved for former leftists who have the audacity to break publicly from liberal orthodoxy. Given the slightest provocation, the liberal media choir will break out singing "Glory Be, There Goes Another" and

William E. Saracino is a member of California Political Review's *editorial board.*

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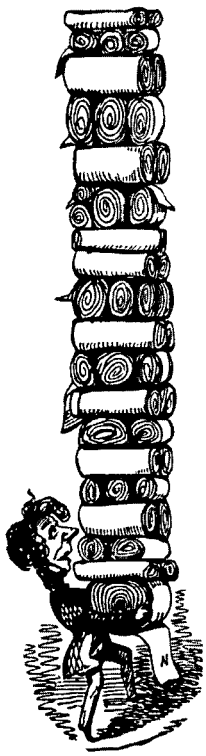
will, often quite publicly, start hunting them down. The latest extremist sighting and hunting target for the left is an unlikely candidate — former CBS newsman Bernard Goldberg.

Goldberg — a down-the-line doctrinaire liberal — committed the unpardonable sin of authoring a book, *Bias,* in which he details instance after instance of liberal bias and a deep, seething anti-conservative mindset at CBS. The book is not sensationalistic or a "screed" in any sense of those words. In fact, it can be rather dry at times, as Goldberg methodically documents case after case of CBS's news-twisting to serve its left-wing bias, most of which, by the way, he witnessed himself.

"Hysterical" and "rabid" are the only words that accurately describe the media's reaction to the book. What little official reaction CBS has offered has focused on labeling Goldberg some kind of disgruntled employee out to "settle scores." But Goldberg's CBS career was long and distinguished, so he must have become disgruntled only at the last minute — he never worked for anyone else, though he surely could have. As for score settling, he does name names and dates, but that serves only to reinforce his charges. He never gives the reader the feeling he is roasting people gratuitously, rather than providing details necessary to make his case believable.

Actually, CBS's reaction has been mild compared to the left wing media "hive" in general. Michael Kinsley reviewed the book, concluding that Goldberg is "remarkably dense" while describing his book as "dumb" — all without bothering to refute a single instance of bias cited in the book.



The "foaming at the mouth" award, though, goes to Tom Shales of the *Washington Post.* His book review was an 800-word temper tantrum worthy of an 8-year-old, a pathetically unprofessional *ad hominem* smearing of Goldberg. In just the first three paragraphs Shales describes Goldberg as a "disgruntled has-been," an "addlepated windbag," and a "no talent hack" who is waging a "laughably inept hate campaign."

But Shales was just warming up on the rhetorical mud balls. Later in his rant he tells us that Goldberg was a "flop as a network correspondent," a "lousy writer," and "not a bright shining star in the CBS firmament." In case these personal attacks somehow fail to hit home, Shales throws in his judgment that Goldberg "usually looked disheveled and bleary-eyed on the air."

Whew! Step back and take a deep breath Tom, please. I have a couple of questions. Why in all the tarring of Goldberg did you not bother — any more than Kinsley — to refute any of Goldberg's specific charges that show consistent, endemic liberal bias at CBS? And how is it that this flop, this lousy writer, this addlepated, no talent, wind-bag hack managed to keep his reporting and producing job with CBS for 30 (!) years? And how is it he managed during that time to win *seven* Emmy Awards for his work? No hurry Tom — I'm not holding my breath waiting for an answer.

Goldberg's liberal credentials are quite impeccable and intact. This is no David Horowitz "conversion" experience. Goldberg still proudly calls himself liberal, but considers himself bound to "fairness and reality above ideology" — not a bad motto for any political viewpoint. Goldberg is a lifelong Democrat. He voted for LBJ and George McGovern. He never voted for Ronald Reagan. He calls Martin Luther King, Jr., his "hero," would make race discrimination a criminal — not just civil — offense, and supports abortion "rights" and the whole left-wing anti-family line. He just dislikes bogus, hypocritical "reporting."

Tough to pin the "right wing wacko" label on someone with that profile, so the media pit bulls resort to crude, personal invective. They can't ignore him, as they would undoubtedly prefer to do. His book appeared on most best seller lists immediately upon publication. Tom "laughably inept" Shales would like a few such inept successes of his own.

This book is a wonderful resource. It should be in every conservative's reference library on media bias. Buy a copy, as part patriotic duty and part ulcer-inducement for our media elite. They are tracking down Goldberg, singing "Glory Be, There Goes Another" at the top of their voices. We should thank them for pointing out a fellow extremist to us, and do what we can to support their discomfort by keeping the book a best seller. The longer we do that, the more frantic, transparent, and counter-productive their attacks on Goldberg will become, and the more exposure his book will receive. And besides, I'd like to see the liberal media honchos really get "Glory Be, There Goes Another" down pat, so we can move on and start teaching them "Adlai, the Bald Head Com-Symp."

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Turnaround in San Diego

A county GOP performs a magic trick: unifying and motivating Republicans into an effective political force ... here's how.

Ron Nehring

To win statewide in California, Republican candidates must win big in four regions: San Diego County, Orange County, the Inland Empire, and the Central Valley. Of the GOP regions, San Diego County is critical. It is California's third largest and the nation's seventh largest county. During the last six months, the San Diego County Republican Party has shown it is possible to forge a local Republican organization that delivers real, tangible benefits for its nominees.

California's laws governing the organization of state and local governments were crafted to weaken political parties. But some county chairmen have built strong organizations anyway. The secret lies in clearly defining the party's role, which is essentially mechanical: create a structure with clear objectives permitting committed Party supporters to help win elections. To maintain the structure, the party must provide stable, competent, lasting leadership. This approach has brought dramatic results.

First, new leaders, elected last July, adopted a five-point political plan:

- expand the Republican base through voter registration,
- deliver the Republican base vote to the polls through comprehensive countywide neighborhood precinct operations,
- inspire and rally activists and volunteers throughout the election cycle,
- integrate local elected officials and candidates into the Party, and
- raise sufficient funds to perform these functions.

By thus clearly defining its tasks, San Diego largely bypassed the ideological divisions paralyzing many county central committees. It turns out, perhaps remarkably, that issues conflicts have little to do with a party's core functions. After all, county parties are not lawmaking entities. They set no public policies. Is there a "moderate" way to register voters? A "liberal" method of fund-raising? A "conservative" procedure for running a precinct operation? Well, no. County parties can be debating societies, or boost candidates. By emphasizing often neglected fundamentals, San Diego seems to have transcended the ideological wars.

Ron Nehring is San Diego County Republican Party chairman, elected July 9, 2001.

Six-Month Progress Report

San Diego County's Republican registration advantage has surged 10.7 percent since July 1 under a registration program spearheaded by freshman Assemblyman Mark Wyland. The Party's monthly meetings draw more than 220 active Republicans for a reception followed by such speakers as Grover Norquist, Ward Connerly, Bill Jones, and Bill Simon. Local elected officials, long disconnected from the Party, participate through the San Diego Association of Republican Elected Officials. It offers members free access to *campaignsecrets.com,* an online campaign toolbox for Republicans, and membership in the Party's Century Club for $100 annual donors. And now, GOP donors are responding through direct mail and events fund raising, and participation in donor clubs. Century Club membership: up 750 percent; Chairman's Circle ($1,000) membership up 850 percent. Subscriptions to *Republican Political Report,* (an e-mail newsletter) and visits to its website, *www.sandiego-republicans.org,* are soaring and bringing in thousands of dollars in online donations.

A new neighborhood precinct program is being developed with the goal of identifying, recruiting, training and deploying 3,000 precinct captains to deliver personally the Party's message to voters in the 2002 election. A recent study by Yale researchers Alan Gerber and Donald Green published in the *American Political Science Review* found that while telephone contact and direct mail have almost no impact on voter turnout, personal visits can increase the chances a voter will cast a ballot 15 percent.

Democrats employ organized labor's money and infrastructure to win elections. San Diego Republicans urge statewide GOP candidates to help ensure their own victories by helping create effective county GOP organizations. If it can be done in a county as complicated as San Diego, they say, in can be done anywhere.

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Stirling

(Continued from page 11)

fish-life. He concluded that shellfish depletion had contributed strongly to the destruction of more than 90 percent of California's once natural sea-life habitat. This habitat, over centuries, provided shelter, food, and spawning grounds for bountiful fish populations. Streichenberger believed that, although reclamation of these *natural* habitats was unfeasible, the lost marine forests could be "recreated" through the planting of cultivated *artificial* reefs. He chose the nutrient-rich sandy bottom of Southern California's coastal waters to test his theory.

In 1993, the Marine Forests Society with its navy of volunteers, planted its first artificial reef some 300 meters off the Balboa Peninsula. Used tires — not toxic when immersed in sea water — were attached in long rows and moored to the sandy bottom. Floating plastic tubes were connected to the tires, forming vertical columns. Mussels and seaweed were then planted within this structure. In time, the ocean floor's tidal movements partially bury the tires, while the mussels, seaweed, and other marine organisms attach themselves to the tires and plastic pipe, thus generating the colonization process. After several years of natural progression of this man-made habitat incubator, the Marine Forests Society proudly claimed that its Newport Beach experiment "supports a higher density of marine life than has ever been seen on any artificial reef previously built in California." Mr. Streichenberger and the volunteers of the Marine Forests Society had demonstrated that the urgent worldwide need to create new marine forests could be addressed, although the process requires several years.

Meanwhile, the California Coastal Commission, in its San Francisco headquarters, was growing increasingly intolerant of Streichenberger's "different" ideas about ocean habitat restoration. The commissioners and staff questioned the legitimacy of a self-professed "environmentalist" who would introduce tires and plastic pipe into the ocean and call it an artificial reef. Accustomed to utilizing — and highly protective of — government's full range of powers, the Commission took pride in its exercise of life-or-death control over all private and public land-use for the entire length of California's coast. extending three miles out to sea and as much as five miles inland. Over the years, the Coastal Commission has grown excessively comfortable with its nearly-unreviewable authority. Except for limited judicial appeals, the Commission's unique statutory scheme, including its composition and method of member-appointment, made its actions and decisions all but unaccountable to higher authority.

Finally, unable to abide any but its own vision of acceptable environmentalism, in 2000 the California Coastal Commission issued a cease-and-desist order against the Marine Forests Society, ordering that it stop maintaining or advancing any further experimental effort to create sea-life habitat artificially off the Balboa Peninsula. Faced with this heavy-handed threat to everything he and his volunteers had worked for, Streichenberger filed suit questioning the Commission's authority to shut down the Society's experiment.

The establishment reacts badly to such resistance. The episode was summarized by one "environmentalist" group as follows: "[Judge Kobayashi's] ruling came as part of a court case filed by a Newport Beach resident who illegally dumped tires, plastic, concrete and other materials into the ocean, claiming that he sought to create artificial reefs — but without the coastal development permit required by the Coastal Commission. When the Commission filed a cease-and-desist order and ordered him to remove his garbage, he sued the Coastal Commission." Recall, this nefarious "dumping" of "garbage" occurred in 1993; the Commission then waited *seven years* to issue its cease-and-desist order. As we know, power corrupts, and honesty is an early casualty.

When Judge Charles Kobayashi ruled that the Coastal Commission's structure violated the constitutional doctrine of "separation of powers," the ghosts of Adams, Madison, and the other delegates must have risen from their chairs and danced a jig. Finding that two-thirds of the members of the Commission are under the control of the Legislature, and that the power to remove is the power to control, Judge Kobayashi recognized that it is a legislative body. He ruled that, as such, it cannot constitutionally perform such executive functions as imposing cease-and-desist orders. Although the Coastal Commission's appeal of this ruling is pending in state appellate court, it seems more an effort to forestall the inevitable than to secure a reversal.

Streichenberger and the Marine Forests Society are not the only beneficiaries of this long-overdue ruling. Nor are the rich marine habitats that may result from their promising research and experimentation. The people of California are the big winners. No governmental agency should possess so much power over peoples' individual and economic lives without checks and balances to prevent its abuse. As Justice Brandeis wrote in *Myers v. U.S.* (1926), "the doctrine of the separation of powers was adopted by the Convention of 1787 not to promote efficiency but to preclude the exercise of arbitrary power."

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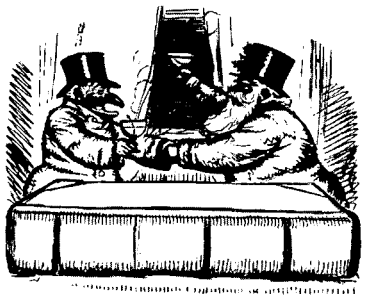

CRITICUS

The Face of God

BY G.B. TENNYSON

AS HISTORY is measured, the inquiry into the matter that came to be known as the Quest for the Historical Jesus is relatively recent. So too is the companion issue, the question of the historical accuracy of the Bible in general. Now, before those who are more theologically learned than Criticus weigh in with dissents, let me make clear that I am talking about these issues as matters of empirical inquiry, that is, as historical, factual, physically verifiable investigation as distinct from theology and ecclesiology, at least on the surface.

To illustrate the difference, I point out that from the beginning of Christianity there was disputation over matters theological. Such things as the exact nature of Christ: was He half-God and half-man, or wholly one or the other, or indeed (as came to be the final judgment), wholly God and wholly man? What about the Trinity: was it three equal or unequal Beings? Did it exist "before all worlds" (*i.e.,* before time) or only as some sort of Christian adumbration? As for the church itself, did it have a supreme head or were all bishops equal? And which works of the Bible were canonical, which not? These and countless other questions of theology and church governance occupied some of the most brilliant minds of the past two millennia. Church councils were assembled to resolve such matters. It is from these that the creeds issued as affirmations of specific theological points. Thus Christ is said in the Nicene Creed to be "God of God; Light of Light; Very God of very God; Begotten, not made; Being of one substance with the Father" — all by way of declaring what Christ's exact nature is. (The formulations given here are taken from the Book of Common Prayer.)

Even so, sects, divisions, and heresies within Christianity rose, fell, were suppressed, faded, prospered, as the case may be, not only in the early centuries but also throughout the centuries and even into very recent times. Orthodoxy split with Rome over the *filioque:* "And I believe in the Holy Ghost ... Who proceedeth from the Father and the Son." *And* the Son? asks Orthodoxy: why did it take ten centuries for Rome to discover this novel procession? A few centu-

G.B. Tennyson has in the past occasionally busied himself with the relation of literature to religion. He is the author of Victorian Devotional Poetry *and co-editor of* Religion and Modern Literature.

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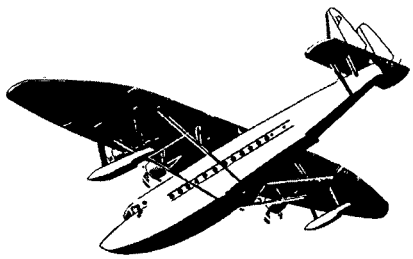
ries later came the Protestant Reformation, followed by numberless reformations of its own, continuing up to modern times. Think of Joseph Smith (Mormonism), or Mrs. Eddy (Christian Science), or Charles Taze Russell (Jehovah's Witnesses), or the Pentecostal Movement (founded in a Los Angeles alleyway c. 1906), to cite only a few American denominations from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. And then there's that Vietnamese body that venerates not only Christ but Victor Hugo, a combination that is exceeded in oddity only by the Cargo Cult of the South Pacific that worships military cargo planes and Lyndon Johnson, though by this time I think we have left Christianity altogether.



The Cargo Cult of the South Pacific worships military cargo planes and Lyndon Johnson.

By itself, however, Christianity has more divisions than probably any other religious profession. Under the rubric of "Religious Groups in the United States" the *World Almanac* lists no fewer than forty-nine American Christian denominations, many of these with subgroups that may or may not be in communion with one another. Under Baptist churches, for example, the *Almanac* lists fifteen distinct Baptist bodies, but the Pentecostal churches beat them out with seventeen. Add these and all the others to the forty-nine and chaos is come again. Islam has only four main divisions and the same goes for Judaism, while Buddhism seems to be confined to three varieties, and Hinduism to three "major divisions," though admittedly with an uncountable number of local amalgamations and variations, such as that group that ventures into the Himalayas to worship a gigantic phallus. Probably soon to be a Hollywood movie starring Ron Jeremy.

Whatever the number and variations may be, the reasons there are different denominations and emphases within any given religious group are, first of all, theological, and secondly, ecclesiological, that is, brought about by differences in matters of doctrine or differences in matters of church organization. Frequently the theology and the ecclesiology are combined. In some cases, politics also played a role, as when American Presbyterians split into Northern and Southern branches over the issue of slavery, though even there theology was cited as justification on both sides. The resolution of differences in theology is why church councils were assembled. They were successful for a time, but only the first seven such councils were assented to by the entire church. After that, division and disagreement held sway.

All of this theological contention occupied intellectuals throughout the greater part of the history of Christianity. It was the sort of thing skeptics have dismissed as arguing over how many angels can dance (sometimes, stand) on the head of a pin, a notion often cited as a mediaeval theological preoccupation, though I have never found anyone able to cite a source for this alleged debate. I suspect it is a modern invention. To Criticus's mediaeval mind it is clear that the answer should be: an infinite number, as angels, being spirits, do not occupy space. Shall we dance?

But I digress.

What is largely absent until the eighteenth century is a concern with empirical verification of the Christian story. True, the mediaeval Christian was concerned with physical relics, especially of saints, but not to dispute their authenticity so much as to venerate them. It has been estimated that if all the fragments of the Cross held in mediaeval churches were brought together, the resulting object would stand at least a hundred feet high. Likewise no one seems to have questioned the idea that the Flowering Judas tree, a Criticus favorite, was the one on which Judas hanged himself, despite the fact that that lovely tree does not grow in Mediterranean climes. Again, piety, not historical accuracy, was the point.

This happy state of things lasted even beyond the Age of Faith, though it was somewhat buffeted by the Reformation. By the eighteenth century, however, the acid of the Enlightenment began to spill its corrosion upon religion. An instructive collection of essays titled *Critics of the Bible, 1724-1873,* tells the story from the English point of view, with essays from such literary eminences as Coleridge and Matthew Arnold. They

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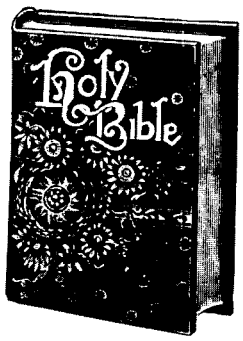
are not irreverent, but they do approach the Bible as being a document as susceptible of literary and historical examination as any other, not as being sacrosanct and entirely divine in origin. The same thing was happening on the continent, especially in Germany where the whole tradition from Hegel to Strauss to Feuerbach and beyond brought us the so-called Higher Criticism, which, with variations, looked at the life of Christ and the nature of the Church as purely historical, man-made things. Although ill-received by many clergy and certainly by the laity in the nineteenth century, the Higher Criticism prevailed in many intellectual circles.



By the eighteenth century, however, the acid of the Enlightenment began to spill its corrosion upon religion.

The Higher Criticism prevailed also into the twentieth century with traditional theology taking a back seat to skeptical, historical inquiry, from Albert Schweitzer looking for the historical Jesus to Rudolf Bultmann "demythologizing" the Bible, to the Red Dean of Canterbury embracing communism *and* Christianity, to Anglican bishops denying the Virgin Birth, to the God Is Dead school of American invention, and, ultimately, to the transformation of many Protestant churches into social welfare organizations holding Happy-Clappy services and even to the dread Mariachi Masses in churches supposedly under Roman dispensation. Torquemada! thou shouldst be living at this hour.

Interestingly, throughout most of the twentieth century, the traditionalist response to all of this rethinking, revising, and re-examining of Christianity was to hope that it would go away. The Fundamentalists became ever more fundamentalist and anti-intellectual and drew the wagons in a circle surrounding Tammy Faye Bakker. The liturgical churches tended to pull up their skirts and hold onto their birettas in hope of avoiding stepping on the droppings. But by century's end and now into the third millennium, the situation is gradually changing. Although the revisionists are still in the field and doing battle, they are now finding new combatants on the other side.

This is not to say that historical revisionism has ceased, but it is to say that it has taken on a two-sided character: revisionism of revisionism. No longer are the nay-sayers the only sayers in the field. In the nineteen-nineties, for example, there was the much publicized, and frankly rather absurd, Jesus Seminar in which theologians cast differently colored marbles or beads or whatever to rank the veracity of the various sayings attributed to Jesus, rather like the judges awarding points at the Miss America contest. The results validated some sayings, invalidated others. Everyone has forgotten which. In the same decade there was the interesting story of the meteorologists who showed that it was quite possible that climatic conditions involving a powerful ten-hour wind could have parted the Red Sea at the shallow Gulf of Suez and made possible the crossing of the Israelites followed by an inrush of water washing away the Egyptians and forcing Old Pharaoh to let those people go.

The past decade or so has brought forth many such re-examinations of Biblical accounts from both sides. I take two to illustrate this new playing field. The first is a motion picture, the second a recent book.

The film is *The Body* from last year (2001) starring Antonio Banderas, Olivia Williams, and Derek Jacobi, an adventure-action-mystery story set in a superbly photographed Jerusalem. The premise neatly captures the essence of the skeptical-historical school by positing the possibility that bones found in an archeological dig are the bones of Christ. Obviously enough, if the bones are Christ's, then the central tenet of Christianity — that Christ rose from the dead — is false. As St. Paul said, "If Christ be not risen, then is our preaching vain, and your faith is also vain."

It is on the question of whose bones are in the tomb that the film builds its series of plot twists and turns. Now they seem to be Christ's, now not. At one point an examiner of the bones declares they are that of a carpenter. How can such a

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thing be determined within ten seconds of looking at two-thousand-year-old bones, or can it be determined of bones at all? Still, when he believes them to be Christ's, one priest (Jacobi) who collects endless, lurid images of the crucifixion, commits suicide, leaping off a parapet, arms spread as if on the cross. In the final analysis the film seems to have it both ways. At first it appears to end with the bones being Christ's and being blown up in a concluding shoot-out, so there can be no further examination of them. But then there is a scrolled over message that reveals that a mysterious inscription in the tomb has been decoded, and it turns out to be a prayer asking God to accept the body of "my son David, as you accepted the body of your son Jesus." Presumably this means that the bones are those of this other person. But a modern doubter could easily imagine that the prayer was put in Jesus's tomb well after His remains. Ah, Hollywood.

Through most of the 20th century the traditionalist response to this reexamining of Christianity was to hope it would go away.

EVEN MORE Hollywood than that, just when you think the film is really over, it switches back to Rome where Banderas renounces his priesthood to the conniving cardinal who sent him to Jerusalem in the first place. Has he lost his faith? No, he believes the bones were not Christ's, but he has lost his faith in the Church. He rips off his collar, saying that now he is not a priest, simply a "man of God." Take that, Rome. At least Hollywood did not have him renounce the cloth early on so he could have a sex scene with the heroine, which may be why this movie came and went without much fanfare.

And finally, or almost finally, back in Jerusalem the film concludes with the Jewish archeologist heroine (who looks and talks like a London Sloane Ranger) explaining to her daughter the difference between Christianity and Judaism. Christians can see their God, she notes as she looks at a crucifix, but Jews cannot see theirs. That explains it. Even then, Hollywood never rests, for as the sun sets over a gilded cross and in the distance the gleaming Dome of the Rock, this legend appears on the screen: "Blessed are they that have not seen, and yet have believed." Everybody is covered.

However many things to however many men *The Body* seeks to be, it does rest on our willingness to believe in the revisionist notion that physical proof is the ultimate proof and that the testimony of the New Testament may well be totally false. In that respect it has more in common with the Higher Criticism that with any declaration of faith. But if *The Body* is conceptually the fruition of a now somewhat muted Higher Criticism, a book published two years before the film is the result of years of what we may call the Replying Criticism. By that I mean the rise in the past generation of studies that affirm the general accuracy and historicity of the Christian story. That book is Jeffrey L. Sheler's *Is the Bible True?* It is not the only such study, but it is one that conveniently brings together all the accumulated challenges to biblical accuracy from the past several centuries and addresses them in clear and readable terms.

Sheler was for nine years a religion writer at *U.S. News and World Report* and appears to be neither a thumping fundamentalist nor an immovable traditionalist. Indeed, like the participants in *The Body,* he uses the mealy-mouthed abbreviations CE and BCE for what has been known as AD and BC. This silliness aside, he deals with the major challenges to the authority of the Bible in evenhanded terms, from the historicity of the Bible, to the Bible and archeology, to the Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls, to the Quest for the Historical Jesus. He even treats the recent phenomenon of the Biblical Code, which we need not trouble with any more than Shakespearean scholars concern themselves with finding authorial messages in the text of the plays. For the rest, the main challenges to the accuracy of the Christian story, Scheler is an economical and sensible guide, even though in Criticus's view he does not deal very deeply with the way in which myth and embroidery surely played important roles in the development of the Bible.

Criticus will not here rehearse all of Sheler's argu-

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ments, but he will note that the most interesting ones and the ones most germane to this present discussion have to do with the Bible and archeology and the Bible and the historical Jesus. Sheler recounts the various archeological discoveries that have tended to support many historical points in the Bible, such as the actual existence of King David, even while noting also that in many other instances there is no supporting physical evidence. Likewise, in dealing with the quest for the historical Jesus, Sheler traces the history of the quest and its variations and then turns to a close examination of the life of Christ and what can be known about it. On the most important issue of all, the Resurrection, he makes no extravagant claims, but he does insist that the consistent and independent reports about the empty tomb and the appearances of the risen Christ are difficult to dismiss. "Even the most skeptical of scholars," he writes, "concede that something extraordinary happened in Jerusalem after Good Friday."

For Easter 2001 the BBC ran a three-part series on the life of Christ called 'Son of God.' From the producer came evidence that the intellectual landscape has indeed changed.

(Criticus cannot resist noting here *vis-à-vis The Body* that Sheler points out that Jewish practice would require that bones of the deceased be placed in a container called an ossuary and held against the day of general resurrection. In other words, the bones would not be left to lie stretched out in a tomb for two millennia waiting for Hollywood to come along.)

SHELER, IN a brief summary chapter, reviews the material he has covered and concludes that the weight of evidence broadly supports the Biblical account of events in both Testaments or at least does not contradict them. His affirmation is far from being literalist. Those who believe in the inerrancy of every single word in the Bible will find Sheler's defense altogether too loose and undogmatic. But that is what commends his work even to the uncommitted. He is not preaching to the choir; he is appealing to those who have ears to hear.

Lest Constant Readers think Criticus has gone soft and wobbly and is veering towards the center, let me conclude with a cautionary tale that will reaffirm the Critical credentials as those of an unreconstructed supporter of the theological *ancien régime.* For Easter 2001 the BBC ran a three-part series on the life of Christ called "Son of God." From the producer came evidence that the intellectual landscape has indeed changed. He noted that twenty years ago such a documentary would have been very different: "Everything would have been very sceptical then. The Gospel was taken to be very dubious history. There has been a shift since then, and the Gospels are looked at differently now. The history in them has been given much greater credence."

All very promising, that. But there's always a "but." The program used computer generated virtual reality images to recreate the architecture and appearance of first century Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Nazareth. Further, the *Telegraph* reports: "Using a first-century Jewish skull and the latest forensic 'sculpture' techniques to generate an image of a contemporary face, the programme makers have also produced what they believe is a close likeness of Jesus."

Criticus did not see the program, but the article included a picture of the computerized likeness. The resulting image, which Criticus has mislaid or perhaps thrown away in horror, presented a brachycephalic, rather closely cropped head and countenance of such gross ugliness that, if it does really look like Christ, then I must seriously question God's aesthetic judgment. A Creator who could produce something as glorious as Blake's tiger ("burning bright") or Hopkins's kestrel ("dappled-dawn-drawn Falcon") would surely never have begotten as His only Son a brutish thug who looks like the operator of a bowling alley in a seedy part of a rust belt city. Down with it! Back to tradition! Back to myth! Back to the Greek ikons, which are probably closest to the truth. Even back to the improbably blond Christ of Sunday School illustrations. After all, as a minority I have a right to a Savior who looks like me.

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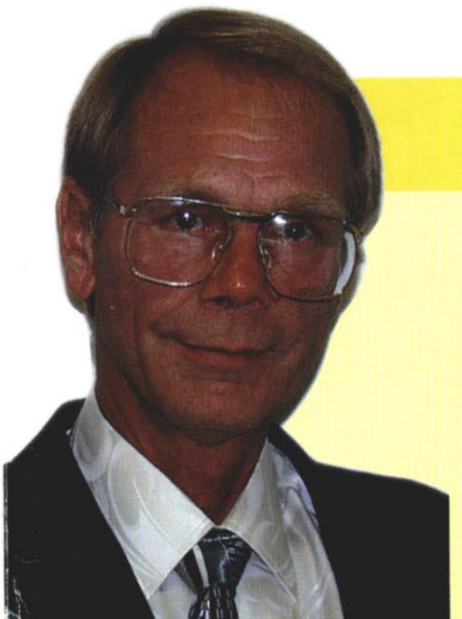

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